General Discussion of the Budget.

President.—We shall now proceed to the general discussion on the budget, and I hope the non-official Members will finish their speechs before we rise for lunch, after lunch sitting being as usual, allotted to official Members to make their replies.

Mr. C. Barton Wright.—Sir, in rising to say a few words relating on the budget presented before us, I have great pleasure in congratulating the Finance Member on his very able report and the prosperous budget he has presented before this House. It is very gratifying to note that there has been a progressive increase of expenditure under all the Departmental activities of Government, and at the same time a surplus has been effected with a view to meet the large demands on account of the development of the Harbour, Railways and road communications. I am not in favour of undue accumulation of funds, but considering all legitimate demands have been met, it is in this case a clear indication of the wise administration of the finances of our State.

In my opinion, no one can accuse our Diwan of having frittered away any sums on immature schemes of unfruitful enterprise.

I am not in agreement with the existing system of clubbing together important Departments, such as Agriculture and Panchayats (*hear, hear*) and the Veterinary Department under a single man, for each of them is so vast and important in itself that it is hardly possible to administer them successfully single-handed. As a matter of fact, I regret to say that they are suffering and are being hampered by the present arrangement. I hope that Government will seriously consider the early separation of the Departments.

The Panchayat Department which is recognised to be the units of self-Government requires a full-time and capable officer to train and guide them in the right direction.

I should like to see more of practical scientific agriculture adapted to local ways and means and brought to the door of the ryot than is at present done.

I don't agree with the remarks made by certain Members that the P. W. Department has not been efficiently worked, for considerable improvement in communications have been effected, but I must say that there is room for improvement in the maintenance of our main roads over which traffic is daily increasing. This, after all, is only a question of allotting the necessary funds, and I am sure our Chief Engineer will agree with me and do the needful. I must take this opportunity of thanking

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the Government for the rapid progress towards the completion of the Nelliampathy Ghat road which will give great facilities for opening up a vast tract of fertile land and invite intending investors, both European and Indian, and which will eventually be a source of revenue and prosperity to the State, besides finding employment for a large number of the working population. This valuable piece of work reflects great credit to the fore-sight and judgment of our Diwan and the energy and skill of our Chief Engineer and his staff.

I canot help saying *en passant* that the medical administration in the State has been marked by steady progress and expansion, and I consider I am right in saying that our General Hospital is a model of efficiency and is a centre of attraction for ailing public of the State and of the neighbouring State of Travancore, and this opinion was endorsed by the Political Agent in his conversation with me the other day. I have no hesitation in supporting the suggestion made by one or two Hon'ble Members that a well organised Health Department should be introduced as soon as possible (*hear, hear*).

Although I am not a son of the soil, it may interest you to know that I was born in India, my parents took me as a child to England for my education, and I returned here in 1882, and since then I have made this country my home, in all, I have spent about fifty-two years of my life out here; in fact I think I can safely assert with a few exceptions that I have lived in India longer than the majority of the Members of this House.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—What is your age, Sir?

Mr. C. Barton Wright.—Sixty-seven.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—How long in Cochin?

Mr. C. Barton Wright.—Sixteen years.

Dr. A. G Menon.—Then we are far advanced.

Mr. C. Barton Wright.—During my long residence in this country and this State in particular I have so identified myself with the interest of the people of the State that I should like to see their representatives more and more associated with the Government of the country. But I feel that it would be conducive to the harmony and co-operation in this Council, if all personal elements were, whenever possible, left out of the discussions. In conclusion I have to thank our President and the Government and its officers on behalf of the community I represent, both European and Indian, for the kind and considerate hearing they have accorded me on all occasions and for the uniform courtesy I have invariably received from our Diwan, a sentiment which I feel bound to express on this last occasion of his presence in the House.

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Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—As said by my friend and colleague, the Hon'ble Member for Landlords, I also rise to deliver probably my last budget speech. After having served in the Council for nearly six years, I feel rather ashamed and my friends on this side will also join with me to confess that I have not been able to do much for my country, cribbed and confined as we are by the illiberal rules of this Council rendered narrower by the still illiberal interpretations of the President.

Although I congratulate you, Sir, on the series of prosperity budgets you had been able to present during the last five years of your stewardship, though through no merit of your own or of your Finance Member, it has to be stated that the budget did not seem to be the budget of a responsible Government, but look like the budget of a private individual. A Government must be able to approximate the income and expenditure. It has also to be stated that the budget is prepared in a haphazard fashion without any definite programme. Further the annual budget is not a true index of the exact expenditure, for under your very nose transfers of allotments are made behind the back of the Council, and you, as Diwan, were a conniving party to this illegal and unwarranted misdirection. This is a state of affairs which is regrettable and hardly creditable either to the Government or to this Council. It shows how little control this Council has over the annual budget. In other matters too this Council is not able to influence the decisions of the Government. For instance, the report of the Special Finance Committee, which was prepared after full deliberations by a committee of the Members of this House for more than 2 years and by a sitting of this Council specially convened for this in a Special Session of this Council, in spite of all these the Government, in passing orders, threw overboard both the report and the resolutions of this Council, and orders were passed according to the whims and fancies of that superman, Mr. Sesha Ayyar, the accredited representative of the Government, with the result that there is a wide complaint against the Government from the subordinate service of the State.

President.—I think you are not justified in making such a remark, that it was the work of Mr. Sesha Ayyar.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—It was said so here.

President.—He had nothing to do with it. Government took the responsibility.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—He was asked to sit in judgment over the deliberations of this House.

President.—A Special Officer was appointed to help the Diwan. He had no right to sit in judgment, nor has he sat in

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judgment. Such remarks do not come with good grace from you.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—The very valuable suggestions in the report on matters other than the staff were not given effect to, and we are now where we were five years ago. Most of the resolutions of this Council are ignored. The Legislative business of the Council is very often hindered by the Government by an attitude of neutrality in important matters. Action is seldom taken on the irregularities brought to the notice of the Government by questions put by the Members of this House, thus defeating the very purpose for which these questions are intended. The Council cannot take the initiative in framing the budget, our function being only to cut or to prune whatever you place before us. It is not the intention of this Council to thwart the machinery of Government neither is it yours to defy the wishes of the people. Our mutual goal is the prosperity and happiness of the people of the land. For these reasons, unless the Government is prepared to co-operate with the Council, there is no use of this institution being kept on. The executive side of the administration is also entirely negligent of its duties. The recruitment to the judicial service of the State on communal lines without reference to character and efficiency has become the bane of the Judicial Administration, and life and prosperity are unsafe in the hands of these arbiters of justice. Indiscriminate transfers from one branch of the service to another also contribute to inefficiency to some extent.

Nobody seems to be intent on the welfare of the people at large. Canning said that nothing is more fallacious than facts unless it be figures. One would wonder if he had our budget figures in his mind when he made this remark. A surplus of well nigh a crore ! Is this not indicative of the prosperity of the State ? Canning says so. It is fallacious. With the abnormal increase in population, with thousands of unemployed and with thousands of starving and half-naked people, how can one say that the State is prosperous ? (*Hear, hear.*) If everything possible is not immediately done to improve the industries and agriculture of the State, we are soon going to be faced with the problem of unemployment, and starvation and discontent will reign supreme. No statistics showing where we stand in the matter of our requirements and productions are available. Not only no attempt is being made to increase the industries of the State, it is pitiable to find that no attempts are being made to revive the industries in which lot of public money has been sunk. I mean the Potteries and the Tanneries. The action of the Government in dragging the Tanneries to the

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court of law is bound to have a serious effect on any future industrial undertaking which the Government may think of taking. It is no good denying the fact that hundreds of persons invested their hard-earned money in the Tanneries simply because Government had a very large interest. It is a thousand pities that, instead of trying to settle matters out of court, taking into consideration the best interests not only of Government but also of the numerous share-holders and the industry concerned, Government thought it fit to rush to a court of law. This entirely does not appear to be the way which a Government, which stands in the position of a parent to the subjects, should follow. Compare what the Madras Government did in the matter of the Karnatic Paper Mills with that which our Government did in the matter of the Cochin Tanneries. Our Government has forfeited all claims for any public sympathy in their venture to revive industries. In the name of industries I appeal to you, Sir, to retrace your steps and settle the Tanneries affair out of court and try to regain the public confidence.

If, during the period of my six years, I have drawn the pointed attention of this Council in season and out of season, it is the imperious necessity for laying down a vigorous policy of irrigation for developing the economic condition of a million of India's 320 millions engaged in agriculture. Though the Council passed unanimously on two or three occasions my resolution on this subject, unfortunately for me and this country my representations failed to melt the stony heart of the powers that be. We had various proposals in the shape of investigations, estimates and budget provisions. Provisions made for one scheme in one year was just wiped off next year to give place for other schemes. After all, what have you done for irrigation during these five years? What did you spend last year? A little below a lakh of rupees. Is this the amount to be spent by a State which has an annual revenue of 80 lakhs? Thus all my representations have been a cry in the wilderness. You have sucked the life-blood of our people by taking away year by year large sums of money by immoral traffic in toddy, ganja and opium. Fortune also favours you. The British Indian policy of protection and increase in Railway rates and freights brought in abnormal increase in revenue. But you have to remember this is not your own money. It is our blood money. It is the consumers who have practically paid them. What have you done in return? Have you spent a single pie in developing the resources of the country? You boast much about the education of the Depressed Classes. Has this education resulted in improving their lot? Have

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you given up drinking? Do their children stick to schools for four years from the first to the fourth standard? Is there not much waste in the expenditure on education? Are your hospitals well equipped, Sir? Do the poor get generous treatment? Have you in any way improved the amenities of rural life? Probably I may be exceeding my time limit if I lengthen my speech. The last quinquennium or more accurately the last decade has been a tragic and dismal failure, if we judge the result of the administration from the point of view of the economic development of the people.

Sir, Cochin is only a drop in the ocean of Indian Politics. Great changes are taking place in the political horizon. Representatives of Indian States and British India are shortly to meet the Paramount Power to discuss the future constitution. Although other States like Travancore and Mysore have published their proposals, we are still kept in the dark as to what has been done by our Government in this matter.

Everywhere our brothren in other parts of India are fighting and sacrificing themselves for self-determination, self-Government and self-respect. What is our position here to-day? After the administration of the stately indigenous Diwans under the advice of a benevolent Maharaja associated by a cultured bed-mate we are placed in the predicament of the reins of administration being handed over to an English member of the Indian Civil Service. Further comment is needless.

God is great, and all that happens happens for the best and I hope you will all join with me in the prayer that better days will dawn for Cochinites who all unfortunately literally come under the expression 'Depressed Classes' and that the new Diwan, though he be an Englishman, will bring for us 'SWARAJ'!

'Vande Mataram'.

Dr. E. A. Veigas.—Sir, I rise to congratulate the Finance Member for the clear statement of the finances of the State.

I am not conversant with the intricacies of State administration, but my long connection with this State service and knowledge gained as Member of thisCouncil entitles me to give my impression of the work that has and is being carried on by Government in the State. Here we have the budget and the speech of the Finance Member presented to us in as lucid a manner as possible. There is no gain-saying the fact that Cochin is progressive and prosperous. The several departments under their respective heads are doing yeoman service for the good of the people of the State, and from the review of work done in the previous years compared with that of the present we find that the departments have expanded considerably.

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and expenditure has risen. Especially Educational Department has made great strides in all its branches. I happened to peruse the 'Times' weekly edition, issue dated June 7th, 1930. I found in the editorial under the heading 'All India', commenting on the Statutory Commission report, the following statement:—"In education which lies at the very root of political understanding a number of States can show a percentage of literates which is already far ahead of the average for British India. The Southern States of Travancore and Cochin head the list with figures which more than double the average." This is a tribute to our little State of which we are proud.

The reduction of pay of some of the Heads of Departments is a retrograde step. The heads should be capable, experienced men, qualified experts and their status should be such as to command the respect and regard of their subordinates and also of the public.

You, Sir, after a brilliant scholastic career, joined the service as a District Munsiff and steadily rose to the position of Chief Justice which you held for 8 years and then was made Diwan. The vast experience you have gained has helped you to carry on your arduous duties and to bring the State to its present prosperous condition. You do not profess to be infallible. Some in the Progressive Party have adversely criticised your administration. Put one of these Hon'ble Members as Diwan, and you find that the responsibilities of his position will weigh on him to such an extent that he will make a somersault of his present views, become guilty of tergiversation to the utter disgust of his present colleaugues.

You, Sir, have presided over this Council from 1100 M. E. I feel it my duty to offer you my humble tribute for the conscientious and impartial way you have discharged your duties and made the work of the Council a success. You have treated all with courtesy (*hear, hear*) and kindness. I wish you Godspeed, health and many more useful years to live.

Mr. M. A. Chakko.—Sir, the Finance Member has presented the usual prosperity budget this year also. He has the complacency of having done a good deed. Virtue has its own rewards. He need not seek for more.

He has shown his side of the picture. Prosperity is painted there in glowing colours. For the occasion it is also decked and decorated for the annual show. Only once a year at the budget time the Government gives the people a vision of the picture. It is seen that the Government were gloating upon it.

It, therefore, becomes the bounden duty of the people and their representatives to let the Government know that something is painted on the other side, and how all the time the

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people were looking at it with painful eyes and loud cries in thier mouth. The Finance Member does not seem to have looked at this side, when he turned his own side to the public. Let me show him the other side of the Government's handiwork. It looks ugly indeed. It tells a tale of peoples' suffering—avoidable suffering not on account of want of means to alleviate it, not for want of men having the duty to hear, to look understand and redress their grievances ; but on account of want of sympathy, yes, on account of the miserly love of accumulating riches with the excuse of the ' Rainy Day '.

'Cochin for Cochinites' has been the cry for the last so many years. During the last quinquennium Almighty has been pleased to grant us the prayer. Cochin was governed and ruled by Cochinites. Are the people contented and happy ? From what I have been hearing from the floor of the House and outside I am afraid that contentment and happiness are receding further and further. Of this, other Hon'ble Members have spoken before me. They have dwelt upon the point at length. I wish to touch upon the besetting sin of the Government, that I have taken every opportunity to point out to them on many previous occasion. Families are groups of individuals bound together by ties of common blood. The next higher corporate body is the village community. Then comes the State to have corporate existence as a Government. The highest ideal of the Government of the people for the people is the prosperity, well-being and contentment of the people. So long as this condition is satisfied, *i. e.*, the greatest measure of contentment, well-being and prosperity is secured, it is of less importance whether the Government is conducted by an authority responsible to the people or to the sovereign only.

As in families, so in Government, love of money, desire to grow rich is not a virtue. It has stunted the growth of many a stalwart and brilliant member of the house where the head of the family held the purse-string tight, to starve the needs of the family. A family growing rich whose head keeps its members ill-fed, sickly, and uneducated, smothering their incessant cries with the plea of poverty, want of means all through the 364 days of the year and who comes forward on the 365th day to say that wealth has been added to the house, cannot expect shout of glee. He cannot expect contentment, happiness and prosperity in the true sense.

This is the picture of Cochin State administration seen from the people's side. It might be said that the picture is not true ; but it is only a caricature. I do indeed want to hold a looking glass before the Finance Member to see himself as

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others see him. I propose to do so by facts and figures. These could be seen from public records.

So I come to hard facts. I shall confine myself to my constituency which is left as the Cinderella of the House. It is one of the most thickly populated regions of the State, contributing to the Government coffers a good round sum as revenue. It is the most heavily taxed region in Land Revenue, excise, customs, fishery, canal impost, etc. I have brought to the notice of the Government their needs that had to be attended to. The people have been petitioning the Government, individually and collectively, about their crying needs. The Government were also satisfied that there is considerable suffering that required alleviation. Has the Government done anything? No! They have not! Want of funds is the invariable excuse !!! When Azhikkal wants cleaning up, there are no funds. When Narakkal wants a hospital or a canal or a road, the trouble is no funds. When agriculturists suffer for want of canals for irrigation and drainage and means of communication, again the reply is no funds. Can the Finance Member, showing prosperity budget year after year, who was sitting by the side of the Government cash chest when it was filling to the tune of a half a crore of rupees in these five years, and who was nodding assent to the incorrect and mendacious excuses that the Head of the Administration was making to the people with his tongue in his cheek, deny that the Government was treating the constituency as Cinderella? Were they not treated worse than beggars to be starved of all their legitimate needs? 'Cochin for Cochinites' has, the people think, brought in its train all this evil. I may persue the matter further and in more detail when I speak on the cut motions.

Mr. K. J. Antony.—Sir, I do not mean to take up much of your time by any lengthy speech or elaborate comment on the budget proposals. But there are a few points on which I have to say a few words.

There was a provision of Rs. 1,69,715 in the budget estimate for the year 1104 under 'Irrigation—Original'. In my comment on it I characterised it as insufficient, and with sufficient reasons emphasised the necessity of the Government untying their purse and utilising a part of the money that was lying idle for extended operation in paddy cultivation. But what did we see in the revised estimate of that year? We saw the figure dwindled down to Rs. 61,104, and a sum of Rs. 1,08,611 sanctioned by the House was allowed to lapse. Again, in the budget estimate of the current year, there was a provision of Rs. 1,24,370 under the same head; and there also we see that in

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the revised estimate the figure dwindling down to Rs. 50,890, and consequently a considerable amount was allowed to lapse. I wonder what explanation the Department concerned can reasonably offer for this failure to appropriate the allotment granted by the House.

Again, another point insisted upon by me was the appointment of a full-timed officer as the Superintendent of Panchayats and the sanctioning of more liberal grants to them. The day has not yet dawned when Cochin is to witness a full-timed officer working to put these ultimate units of self-government in efficient condition. With regard to this grant, the provision has fallen from Rs. 29,523 in the revised budget to Rs. 27,300. There is no use of maintaining ornamental institutions. If they cannot be maintained on efficient lines, if they cannot be so worked as to conduce to the welfare and happiness of the subjects the best policy, to my mind, would be to end them altogether.

And yet another objectionable feature to which I have to invite the attention of the House is the continuity of the Government policy in making gain by immoral traffic. Turning over the pages of the budget proposals, you will find that an increase in revenue of Rs. 27,500 under 'Abkari and Ganja' is anticipated. The Hon'ble the Finance Member, in his memorandum, explains that it is due to the auction sales of the toddy and arrack shops. Of course, shrewed in intellect, suave in manners, and dexterous in dealings with people, our present Hon'ble Member for Excise is capable of achieving this and even more, if he is put to it, although he is not wedded to the gospel of wine drinking and flesh eating. But how are we to applaud the policy of the Government in this respect?

With all these, there are some special features in the proposal which are particularly to my liking. First and foremost is the provision for opening and maintaining colonies and grant-in-aid schools for the Depressed Classes. In the current year's budget, there was a provision for opening burial grounds for them. It was a very salutary idea for the Government to have thought of doing it. I would say that it is not enough that burial grounds are given to the Depressed Classes alone. There should be public burial grounds in the rural parts for all classes who have no burial grounds of their own. Last year an old woman of the Vala caste died of small-pox at Bolghatty. There is no public burial ground there. Her people, as was customary from time immemorial, buried the body in her premises. The local Magistrate came to know about it and ordered the prosecution of all those who took part in the burial for nuisance, and eventually convicted them. I can understand the reasonableness of the

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step taken, if the Government had provided public burial grounds at Bolghatty. Suppose for want of it, the people of the deceased had left the body in the house unburned, what would have been the condition? Would not there have been nuisance then? Would not the poor relations of the deceased have been prosecuted then for it? I would request the Government to ask their officers of law not put the cart before the horse.

Two other items welcome to me are the continuance of the provision for the entertainment of the traffic staff and that for motor mechanics' course in the G. T. School, Trichur. The motor traffic throughout the State has increased considerably. I know that the present Hon'ble Member for the Police is straining every nerve, with the co-operation of the existing preventive and executive staff, to control the traffic and to make highway safe for the pedestrians. Yet accidents not infrequently occur. We should all sympathise with the ex-Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda for the great loss sustained by him by the premature death of his dear brother by a motor accident. It is, therefore, but right that the existing staff is relegated to their legitimate duties and a separate staff to control the traffic is constituted, and allowed to continue. Again, the present motor drivers are not men who had had a scientific study of the mechanism. This has contributed not a little to many an accident. It was very thoughtful of the Hon'ble Member of Education to open a class to give regular scientific course in motor mechanism in the G. T. School, Trichur.

I am exceedingly glad that, at long last, the recommendations of the Special Finance Committee are an accomplished fact. The increased provisions made in the budget proposals are clear indications that the new arrangements will come into force without further delay, though the results of the recommendations have proved to be what the maxim says 'the mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse.'

I am done. But, before concluding, I wish to add one word more. Owing to the present political situations and the consequent relations of India and the foreign countries, the price of copra and cocoanut oil has gone considerably low, and according to the speculations and calculations of the merchant princes of our State, there is no likelihood of a rise in price in the near future. If, therefore, something is not done in this connection by the Government, I am afraid, and there is every reason to believe so, the people of Cochin in general, and those whose chief and primary income is from copra and cocoanut oil in particular, will go to ruin. Therefore, what I would suggest

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is that the Government should float an Industrial Limited Company with ample capital and utilise all copra and oil that are being produced in our State in making soaps, candles, biscuits, etc., so that our cocoanut products can find a market in our State itself for their consumption. Besides, this will be a proper solution for the problem of unemployment also.

Mr. V. V. Anandapadmanabha Ayyar.—Sir, I take this opportunity of expressing a few words on the budget presented to us. It is gratifying to note that the revenue of our State has gone up by leaps and bounds and that it has nearly quadrupled itself since the time when I began to study the Geography of Cochin. It has come nearly to a crore of rupees, and I hope, by the advent of the Harbour and the conversion of the Railway into broad gauge, our finances would increase higher and higher. But with respect to the expenditure, although it has been going up side by side, we find that in spending the revenue the Government has not been utilising it properly so as to ensure the prosperity of the people. We have had a series of surplus budgets, and the Finance Member claims to have achieved this result of being able to present surplus budgets not by stinting the Development Departments but by a judicious handling of the State finances. In my submission the reason alleged for the Finance Member being able to present surplus budgets is not at all a fact, and is not at all true. In my submission the Development Departments have been starved and are being starved.

President.—Which Department, please?

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.—Development Departments, be said.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—In the budget presented to us we find no scheme for the development of industries. It appears that the Durbar was frightened out of its wits by the first few failures. There was a failure in the case of the Tanneries, a failure in the case of the Potteries. But if the Durbar had persisted in its policy of developing industries, I think it would have succeeded in the end. As it stands it appears that a few attempts were made, but it stopped short of that. An attempt appears to have been made by starting some industrial schools and spending a small amount by giving commercial education in secondary schools also. But my submission is that the attempt of the Government towards industrialising the country is very poor indeed. There has been no attempt to send out students of our State to foreign countries for qualifying themselves for any of the industries. Although it has been insisted upon by this Council that students should be sent out to foreign countries for Potteries or

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Tanneries or any other industries, our Government has not tried to comply with the request, nor do we find in the budget any scheme for the development of our Railways. There is ample scope for a Railway line being opened from Trichur to Kunnamkulam; east to west, throughout the Cochin State. But we do not find any such scheme. Further we find that there are several proposals of the Road Committee—the Road Committee which has formulated its proposals years back—which have not yet been accomplished. The reason advanced for not doing all these is the lack of funds. I cannot see how the surplus budget presented to us is consistent with the plea of lack of funds. With respect to the proposals of the Road Committee which have not been given effect to, I may cite one example. I refer to the proposed road from Ponnani road to the Erumapetti road and south of that to meet the Trichur—Kunnamkulam road at Mundoor. This was included in the proposals of the Road Committee and even after the lapse of so many years we do not find that the proposal has been worked out. It was only last year that a small sum of Rs. 5,000 was included in the budget of which only a little has been spent. In the budget of 1106 only a very small sum has been provided. Again, we find, Sir, that persons employed in the State service are being paid very poorly in our State when compared with services outside. In no other State will you find several graduattes getting less than Rs. 30 a month?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—One is getting Rs. 10.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—It is shameful, I would say. If you go through the memorandum explaining the details of the budget estimates of this year you will find towards the close of it a list of the items of expenditure which have been newly provided for in the 1106 budget. These are the only novel provisions admittedly which are to be found in the budget of 1106 and we find no new scheme in that. I shall, with your permission, read a few of the items there:—

"Training of Tahsildars in survey and account works, training of clerks, survey school for village officers, special officer for renewal of State holdings in Puthenchira Pakuthi of Travancore, temporary establishment for Kallettumkara Registry Office, consisting of a Registrar, two clekrs and two peons, purchase of three fire engines, etc."

These are the only novel items of expenditure in the list. Therefore, my submission is that the claim of the Finance Member that the surplus is due to a judicious handling of the State finances is entirely without foundation. But the surplus is the result of the policy adopted by the Durbar, a policy of a tight-fisted money lender, who would not part with the money unless it is etxorted from him.

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It has been the practice to estimate revenue low and expenditure high with the result that every year we get a large amount of money as surplus. Now if you look into the receipt side of the budget you will find, Sir, that an amount of Rs. 3,11,800 is being expected as interest on money invested in banks. My submission is that there is no necessity to lay out so much money or lend so much for the sake of interest. The interest of the people should be the main concern of the State and in order to develop industries, in order to better the economic condition of the people every pie available should be utilised. Instead of that, if money is being invested in Mysore Securities or other banks, at 5 per cent and 6 per cent my submission is that it will not at all be conducive to the welfare of the people. There is no necessity to hoard up. If the revenue exceeds the necessary expenditure it is better to remit the revenue back to the people and not to collect so much revenue. The true principle of taxation is that the taxation should be only so much as is required for the administration of the State. There is no necessity to collect anything higher than that. It should not be the object of the Government to lay by for future generations. Money is to be always invested in reproductive works. Then it might be said that we should provide for the evil day. If such an evil day comes, we have some money at hand in order to be ready for that. But my submission is that we have now already the evil day. There are ever so many things to be done. Why not spend this money in a useful manner, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

In the budget speech of the Finance Member he says that the policy of the Darbar is to 'hasten slowly'. In my submission that policy would have been quite proper had it been a case of hastening at all. But my case is that, on the other hand, the policy at present followed is a policy of gradual retrogression, a policy of retreat. You find the Tanneries and the Potteries were started and after having gone through the first stages of the work the whole thing is left there and it has been a case of retreat. There was a period of industrialisation, but where is that policy now? Can the Durbar say that that policy of industrialisation has been steadily followed by the State? In my submission at present it is not a policy of hastening slowly, it is not a policy of hastening at all, but it is a policy of retreat or retrogression.

On the receipt side of the budget the increase of revenue from the Excise Department shows clearly what the policy of the Durbar is with reference to that Department. It has strayed very far from the goal which the Government itself has laid down in respect of that Department. Can we say that the Govern-

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ment in following a policy towards prohibition? Not at all. If so, we could not have expected a larger increase in the revenue from that Department. I am convinced that nothing good can be expected from the Government as far the excise policy of the Government is concerned. People have to resort to other methods to stamp out this evil, *viz.* methods adopted in British India and elsewhere.

The powers of this Council with respect to the expenditure side of the budget are very limited. We cannot ask the Government to appropriate a particular sum towards a particular expenditure. We can only restrict the expenditure, the allotments made for particular purposes. We cannot ask the Government to spend a pie for any particular item of expenditure. That is a great handicap. Nor has the Council any power to call upon the Government to explain why an allotment made is not spent in a particular year. The Council is also incompetent to prevent a transfer of allotment from one item of work to another. My submission is that everywhere, throughout the world, there is a cry for the grant of greater power to the people, and it is high time that the Government should formulate a scheme so as to reform our constitution and to give this Council larger powers in order to keep up the original idea of our Beloved Highness of participating the people more and more with the administration.

മിസ്റ്റർ. കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഈ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ നയത്തെ ഈ കൌൺസിലിലും പുറത്തും വളരെ ശക്തിയായിട്ടു ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്ന ഒരുത്തനാണ് ഞാൻ. ആ ആക്ഷേപങ്ങളൊന്നും ഞാൻ പിൻവലിക്കുന്നുമില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഈ ഭരണത്തിനു കുറെയധികം കാലം ഉത്തരവാദിയായ ദിവാൻജിഅവർകൾ പോകുന്ന ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള നല്ല കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം കൃതജ്ഞതയോടുകൂടി ഓർക്കേണ്ടതു് എന്റെ കടമയാണെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജി എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും കഴിയുന്നതും ഗുണം ചെയ്യണമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശക്കാരനാണെന്നുള്ളതിൽ എനിക്കു ഭിന്നാഭിപ്രായമില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെകാലത്തുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള ഡിപ്രസ്ഡ് ക്ലാസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെൻറ് തന്നെ അതിനു ഉത്തമലക്ഷ്യമാണ്. അധഃകൃതവർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസംകൊടുക്കരുതെന്നുംമറ്റും തോന്നത്തക്ക അർത്ഥത്തിൽ സല്പും മുമ്പേ ഒരു മെംബർ ഇവിടെ സംസാരിക്കയുണ്ടായി. ആ ന്യായങ്ങളോടൊന്നും ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെക്കാൾ ആവശ്യമായ വേറൊന്നും അവർക്കു കൊടുക്കാനില്ല. പക്ഷേ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം കൊടുത്തതുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ കടമ

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തീർന്നതായി ഞാൻവിചാരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു അതും തെറ്റിധരിക്കരുതെന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

വേറൊരു വലിയ സംഗതി കൃതജ്ഞതയോടുകൂടി പറയാനുള്ളതു് ഈ സഭയിൽ ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഒരു മാനുയെ നിയമിച്ചതിനെപ്പറ്റിയാണു്. അതും ഈ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ കാലത്താണെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം ഞാൻ കൃതജ്ഞതയോടുകൂടി പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഇങ്ങിനെ പലേ കാര്യങ്ങളും ഈ ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതു് ഞങ്ങൾ ഓർക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്.

ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ കടം വർദ്ധിക്കാതെ ചിലവുകുട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടുതന്നെ നീക്കിയിരിപ്പു അധികം കാണിക്കുന്നതു തെറ്റാണെന്നു പലരുംപറഞ്ഞു അതിനോടു ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നില്ല. നീക്കിയിരിപ്പെങ്കിലും ഗവ മ്മെൻറു ഉണ്ടാക്കിയില്ലേ എന്നാണു് ഞാൻചോദിക്കുന്നതു്? നീക്കിയിരിപ്പുംകൂടെ ഉണ്ടാക്കാതെ ഗവമ്മെൻറിനു പോകാമായിരുന്നു. നീക്കിയിരിപ്പെങ്കിലും വരുത്തിയതിൽ നാമെല്ലാം സന്തോഷിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. പക്ഷെ നീക്കിയിരിപ്പു വരുത്തിയതുകൊണ്ടും ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള രീതിയിൽ ഭരണം വലിച്ചിഴച്ചു വളച്ചുകൊണ്ടുപോയതുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം ഇനിയുള്ള ഒരു കാലത്തും ഗവമ്മെൻറിനു ശകാരം കേൾക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല.

ഒന്നരണ്ടു വലിയ സംഗതികൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെയും അവരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളുടെയും ഗവമ്മെൻറിൻെറതന്നെയും ശ്രദ്ധയെ അതികഷ്ടിക്കത്തക്കനിലയിൽ വളരെ ഭയങ്കരമാംവണ്ണം രാജ്യത്തു നടക്കുന്നു. തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മ വായും പിളർന്നുവരുന്നു. ഏതു ഗവമ്മെൻറു ആ ഭ്രതത്തിൽ നിന്നു രാജ്യത്തെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻവേണ്ട കരുതലുകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലയോ ആ ഗവമ്മെൻറു എത്ര സർപ്ലസ് ബഡ്ജറു കാണിച്ചാലും അതിനെ തോറ്റ ഗവമ്മെൻറായി ലോകം എണ്ണുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു യാതൊരു തർക്കവുമില്ല. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെൻറു വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം കരുതലോടുകൂടി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു പറയാൻ നിർത്തിയില്ല. തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഹൈഡ്രോഇലക്ട്രിക്ക് സ്കീമിൻെറയും ഹാർബറിൻെറയും മറ്റും വലിയ വേലകൾ സ്വല്പം സഹായമായേക്കാമെന്നു ഗവമ്മെൻറു ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടൊന്നും തീർപ്പിപ്പെടുന്ന അത്ര ചെറിയ ഒരു ഭ്രതമല്ല വരുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു രാജ്യത്തിലെ വ്യവസായങ്ങളെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്താൻ ഇവിടെ 'തല'യില്ലെങ്കിൽ 'തല' എവിടെ നിന്നെങ്കിലും വരുത്തുന്നതിൽ ആക്ഷേപം വിചാരിക്കുവാനില്ല. അതിനു കാര്യമായി എന്തെങ്കിലുംചെയ്തില്ലെങ്കിൽനാമെല്ലാം വലിയ വിഷമത്തിലായിത്തീരും. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവമ്മെൻറു വളരെ പരാജയപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കയാണെന്നു പറയാതെ

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തരമില്ല. രണ്ടു വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ ഗവൺമെൻറ് പരിശോധിച്ചുനോക്കി. അ പരിശ്രമങ്ങൾ ഗവൺമെൻറിനെടുക്കാവുന്ന ശക്തി മുഴുവൻ ഉപയോഗിച്ചു ഫലപ്രദമാക്കാൻ നോക്കായ്കയാൽ അവനശിക്കയും വ്യവസായത്തെപ്പറ്റി ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഭീതിയുണ്ടാകുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു നിലയിൽ ചാലക്കുടിയിൽ കിടക്കയുംചെയ്യുന്നു. ചാലക്കുടിയിലെ ഈ രണ്ടു വ്യവസായപരിശ്രമങ്ങൾ ഫലവത്താക്കാതെയിരിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തോളം ഈ ഗവൺമെൻറിനു വ്യവസായകാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി തലപൊക്കിപ്പിടിച്ചുനില്ക്കാൻ യാതൊരു നിവൃത്തിയുമില്ല.

ഏതൊരു സംഗതി. എല്ലാരാജ്യത്തും മദ്യപാനം തടയണമെന്നുള്ള ശ്രമം തുടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെൻറു വരുന്ന പുതിയ-ാംനമ്പർകാരുത്തു മദ്യപാനത്തെതടയണമെന്നു് ആരും ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ആരെങ്കിലും ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു് അനാവശ്യവും ആയിരിക്കും. ഒരു ക്ലിപ്തകാലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ മദ്യവ്യാപാരം നിർത്തലാക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഒരു നയം ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് സ്വീകരിച്ചില്ലെന്നാവരികിൽ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനു നിലയില്ലാതാകുമെന്നു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു ക്ലിപ്തകാലത്തിനകം മദ്യവ്യാപാരം തടയത്തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള . ഒരു കായ്യപരിപാടി ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് സ്വീകരിക്കണം. തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ഇപ്പോൾ ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ വലിയ വിഷമത്തിലായിതീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അവിടത്തെപ്പോലെ ചില ആളുകൾ ഇവിടെയും വിഷമം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം നമ്മുടെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനും ഈ നിലതന്നെ വന്നേക്കാം.

പിന്നെ ഒന്നു പറയാനുള്ളതു് ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണവും സ്വയംഭരണവും എല്ലാം വരുന്നതുവരെ നമ്മുടെ ഈ ബ്യൂറോക്രാറ്റിക്കു് ഗവൺമെണ്ടു" അതേനിലയിൽതന്നെ ഇരിക്കും. ആ നിലയിൽ ഭിന്നസമുദായങ്ങൾ ഉള്ള ഈ രാജ്യത്തു" അതിൽ പങ്കു വാങ്ങുന്നതായിരിക്കും ഓരോ സമുദായത്തിനും ഉദ്ദേശം എന്നുള്ള കാര്യം അധികം മറച്ചുവയ്ക്കാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി മുറവിളികൂട്ടുമ്പോൾ അതിനെ വളരെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർത്തുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നവരിൽ ചിലർ അവരുടെ സമുദായത്തിനു ഉദ്യോഗം നല്കുന്നില്ലെന്നു ബഹളംകൂട്ടുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ മറച്ചുവെച്ചു പറയുന്നില്ല. ചീഫ് കോടതിയിൽ ചിലസമുദായങ്ങളിലെ ജഡ്ജിമാരധികം. ചില സമുദായക്കാരുടെ ജഡ്ജിമാർ ഇല്ല. ഒരിക്കലും ചീഫ് കോടതിയിൽ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ഇല്ലാത്ത സമുദായക്കാർ ഒരു കക്ഷണം ജഡ്ജിയെ എങ്കിലും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തരണമെന്നു നിലവിളിക്കുമ്പോൾ രാജ്യത്തു സർവ്വത്ര കുഴപ്പമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു ശക്തിപൂർവ്വം വാദിച്ചിരുന്നവർതന്നെയാണിതു പറഞ്ഞതു്. (*Hear, hear*). അവരുടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ വാദം ശരിതന്നെയെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. മുമ്പിലത്തെ വാദത്തെയാണു് ഞാൻ അ

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ക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നതു". സപ്ലൈകാലത്തെക്കു അവരുടെ പേരു ലിസ്റ്റിലാർ ഇല്ലാതെ പോയപ്പോൾ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യ വാദം മുഴക്കുന്നു. സമുദായപ്രാതിനിധ്യം മന്ത്രിമാർക്കായാലും ശരിതന്നെ പോരുന്നതാണു ഞാനിതെല്ലാം പറയുന്നതു ആ വാദത്തെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കാനല്ല. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു സമുദായങ്ങൾ വെവ്വേറെ നില്ക്കുന്നിടത്തോളം, സ്വരാജ്യമായാലും, പരരാജ്യമായാലും, ഉത്തരവാദഭരണമായാലും നിരുത്തരവാദഭരണമായാലും ഓരോ സമുദായങ്ങളുടേയും ആവശ്യങ്ങളെ നിറവേറ്റ, കൊടുക്കാതെ എത്ര മനോഹരപദം പറഞ്ഞാലും ബുദ്ധിയുള്ളവരാരും അതുകേട്ടു മയങ്ങിപ്പോകയില്ല. ഗവൺമെണ്ടന്നു, സമുദായനീതി ചെയ്യാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ ഉപേക്ഷകൊണ്ടൊ മനഃപൂർവ്വംകൊണ്ടൊ എന്നു തന്നെ പറയാം, സാധിക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്റെ സമുദായത്തിൽനിന്നു പാസ്സായി വരുന്ന ബി. എ.ക്കാർ പത്തുരാൾ ഉദ്യോഗമായി ഗ്രാമിച്ചാൽ തന്നെ അവർക്കു കൊടുക്കാൻ ജോലിയില്ല. ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിൽ എത്ര ഗ്രാഡ്വേറ്റുകൾ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നാലും കൈവിരലിൽ എണ്ണുന്നതാണു. ഞാൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ സർവ്വീസിലിരിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തു ഇവിടെ ദിവാൻജിയായിരുന്ന മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. വിജയരാഘവാചാര്യർ എനിക്കു ഇവിടെ ജോലി വേണ്ടൊ എന്നു എന്നോടു ചോദിപ്പിക്കയുണ്ടായി. പിന്നാക്കം നില്ക്കുന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളെ ഇതുപോലെ സഹായിക്കാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു തയ്യാറുണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ എനിക്കു ദിവാൻജി അവർകളോടും ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു മേലധികാരികളോടും അപേക്ഷിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു അവരുടെ ക്ലാർക്കുമാരുടെ കയ്യിൽ ഈ കാര്യം ഏല്പിക്കരുതെന്നാണു. ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു മേലധികാരികൾക്കും ദിവാൻജിക്കും വളരെ ജോലികൾ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും ഏറ്റവും വലിയ പ്രമേയമായ ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഒരു തീരുമാനം ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ അവർ എപ്പോഴും ജാഗരൂകരായിരിക്കണം. ഏതു പുതിയ നിയമനം നടത്തുമ്പോഴും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ സമുദായത്തിൽ നിന്നു വല്ലവരും അപേക്ഷകന്മാരായുണ്ടൊ എന്നു നോക്കാതിരിക്കയില്ല എന്നു ഒരു നിശ്ചയം വെക്കണം. ആ നയംകൊണ്ടെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ സമുദായക്കാർക്കു ഉപകാരമാകയുള്ളു. ദിവാൻജി ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ അനുകമ്പയുള്ള നയമാണു സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതു ഫലവത്താകുന്നില്ല. അതിന്റെ കാരണം കുറെ, ഞാൻ മുമ്പു പറഞ്ഞതാണു. ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു വളരെ നിഷ്കർഷിച്ചു വല്ലതും ചെയ്യുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ തെങ്ങോക്കുള്ള പങ്കു കിട്ടുമായിരുന്നു. അതിനു ഗവൺമെണ്ടു പ്രത്യേകം ദയവു ചെയ്യുണ്ടാകണ്ടു. ഹജൂരിന്റെ കാര്യം പ്രത്യേകം പറയുന്നു. ഈയിടെ രണ്ടുപേരെ ഹജൂരിൽ പുതുതായി നിയമിച്ചു. അവർ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ധാരാളമുള്ള സമുദായത്തിൽ പെട്ടവരാണു. ഈഴവന്റെ

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പൊടി ഹജൂരിൽ കണ്ടാൽ തീണ്ടിപ്പോകുമൊ? അവക്ക് യൂണിവേഴ്സിറ്റി ഡിഗ്രി സമ്പാദിക്കാൻ യോഗ്യത ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഹജൂരിൽ ഒരു ക്ലാർക്കിന്റെ ജോലി നോക്കാൻ യോഗ്യത ഇല്ലെന്ന് എങ്ങിനെ ഉഹിച്ചു? ഇപ്പോൾ ഹജൂരിൽ ഒരു കഷണം ഇഴവനെ ഉള്ളൂ.

നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് നമ്മുടെമണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ ഭരിക്കണമെന്നു് നാമെല്ലാവരും ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ സ്വന്തം മണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ അല്ല, ഇനി കുറെ നാൾ നമ്മെ ഭരിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നു കേൾക്കുന്നു. സ്വന്തം മണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ ഭരിച്ചാലും പരദേശമണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ ഭരിച്ചാലും ഭരണം നല്ലതാണെങ്കിൽ ജനങ്ങൾ ഒരുവിധം തൃപ്തിപ്പെടും. സ്വന്തം മണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ പോരാ എന്നു വരുത്തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള സ്ഥിതിഗതി വരുത്തിയവരുത്തരവാദികളെയാണു്, രാജ്യദ്രോഹികളെയാണു്, ജനദ്രോഹികളെയാണു്, ഈസഭ അതികഠിനമായി അധിക്ഷേപിക്കേണ്ടതു്. (*Hear hear*) ഈ തിരുത്തരവാദികളെയാണ ഈ രാജ്യം എന്നേക്കും അധിക്ഷേപിക്കേണ്ടതു്. വരുന്ന പരദേശമണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കളെയല്ല. മേൽപറഞ്ഞ സ്ഥിതിഗതികൾ വളരെ ശക്തിയായി ഇവിടെ നില്ക്കുന്നു. അതിന്റെയും അടിസ്ഥാനം കുറെ എല്ലാം സമുദായവഴക്കാണെന്നുള്ളതു് ആരും മറന്നിട്ടു് ആവശ്യമില്ല. പരദേശമണ്ണു വന്നാലും വദേശമണ്ണു വന്നാലും തല്ക്കാലം ഗുണമായിരിക്കും. ഒരിക്കലും ഇവിടെ പരദേശമണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ കടക്കാതിരിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം ഭരണം നീതിയായി നടത്തുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ സ്വന്തം കുടുംബമെന്നും സ്വന്തം സമുദായമെന്നും ഓർക്കാതെ രാജ്യം 'രാജ്യം' എന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്ന ഉത്തമരായ കുറെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ഈ പരദേശമണ്ണിന്റെ മക്കൾ ആരും ഇവിടെ കടക്കുകയില്ല. (*Hear, hear*) ഈ ബോധം എല്ലാവർക്കും ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ എന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തെ അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Sir, I do not propose either to congratulate or to criticise the Finance Minister of the State for the simple reason that he is not the Snowden of the State, for he does not possess the power and discretion which ought to be vested with the Finance Member. He is simply a subordinate who ought to accept the views of somebody and frame the budget according to the direction of the Diwan. And it will be foolish on my part, if I go out of my way to praise his proposals for to do so will tantamount to an act of sycophancy and flattery—characteristics which are remarkable for their flourishing growth in the State. I do not wish to be included in that category. Therefore, I shall neither criticise nor praise

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his attempt. But I cannot help again pointing out to the Hon'ble Member what I have pointed out last year that this method—pardon me for saying of deliberately under-estimating the income of the State—is adopted to produce a feeling in our mind that the income and the expenditure more or less tally. I have taken the last three years' accounts. 1102—Estimated 70 lakhs—Actuals 75 lakhs. 1103—estimated 74 lakhs—Actuals 86 lakhs. 1104—estimated 77 lakhs. Revised 87. It may come even to 95. Now there are only two interpretations to be placed upon these figures. Either the Finance Department does not know how to calculate or to form an intelligent anticipation of financial events that may take place in the current year. I shall be the last man to attribute incompetency to the Department. Therefore, I unhesitatingly say that they have been purposely and deliberately trying to produce a mis-conception in our mind. This method of finance is not very conducive either to your intelligence or to the financial condition of the State. And I have been protesting against it. Why? Then what happens? The next process is, since the revenue is greater than the expenditure, to raise the expenditure—a pernicious system of raising expenditure—to meet as far as possible the level of the income. That has also been pointed out by me by going through the figures for a number of years which I did last year. The justification given by the Finance Minister is that though the expenditure has increased it has been well spent. He says, "the net surplus to the credit of the State which stood at Rs. 41·56 lakhs at the end of 1100 rose to Rs. 93·49 lakhs at the end of 1104"—he takes it as a credit that is my objection—"not by stinting expenditure on departments catering to the welfare of the people, not by tapping new sources of revenue by the imposition of fresh taxation, but, by a judicious and discriminate handling of the State Finances and by a scrupulous care to see that the money was spent properly in the true interests of the State."

Well, gentlemen, had I been living outside Cochin this picture would have raised a glorious picture of the state of this country in my mind, but since I am living here I do not propose to accept any of these statements as true. I beg to differ from the Finance Minister in toto. Every statement can be proved to be untrue. In fact, if it could be proved that these statements are correct, then we cannot raise any objection at all. But it could be proved that these statements are untrue. The money was spent. How? Spent by creating unnecessary posts—a number of unnecessary posts—to provide the camp followers of the Gavernment. You create unnecessarily posts to provide your relations or camp followers or sons with soft jobs and then you come forward and say that you spend money for the material and moral progress of the people. You have

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raised the expenditure not for the sake of the people but for the sake of your sons and relations and those who are near and dear to you. I submit that the members of the Government should not make use of Government institutions for unnecessarily providing cushy jobs to their followers and relations. It is a most objectionable procedure. The Government for the last six or seven years had been invariably following—to the discredit of this State both in the eyes of the people who are living in the State and those outside—this objectionable practice in spite of our vehement protests. How many times are we to raise our objections, and how many times have you been warned?

That when a foreigner comes here to be the Diwan there is not any one even to raise a voice of protest. I, as a matter of fact, when somebody suggested four years ago that an Indian from outside must be brought here as the Diwan raised my voice of humble protest then. It is scandalous to say that in a State like Cochin, where in point of intelligence, level of education and common sense we stand second to none, there is not a single individual forthcoming to protest against the same. This is just like Lord Birkenhead's saying 'there is not even a dog to bark when Mahatmaji was arrested'. There is not a dog to bark in this State at the proposal to bring a European Diwan. In spite of protests after protests, you gentlemen have reduced the State to such a position that every one is welcoming even a foreigner as the Diwan. You are responsible for it. It is with feelings of sorrow that we say that you have reduced the State to such a depth of degradation that there is not even a single voice to protest against this impending arrangement. Are we responsible or are you responsible? I say you are responsible for this state of affairs.

Now, Sir, after saying this I want to draw the attention of Government to two sources of revenue that can be raised. One is the income-tax which we have recommended and which under the present existing commercial depression Government may not be able to introduce. But there is another source of revenue which the Government may very well tap, namely the rebate on petrol. The British Government charges three annas a gallon and my modest calculation, that between 50,000 rupees and a lakh of rupees may be expected. I think that the Public Works Department will be only too glad to have a lakh and odd rupees for further improvement of roads. I hope the Government will consider this question and address the Imperial Government for their own portion of the rebate which they are entitled to. This is the second point I wish to bring to the notice of the House.

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Now the only point which I would like to observe to-day is that the recommendations of the Special Finance Committee and the consequences of tampering with it has produced a feeling of depression, a feeling of anger, and a feeling of sorrow in the minds of a large number of your subordinates. When we have taken the trouble to go through this for two years hearing all the criticisms about various points the Government ought to have been more careful in rejecting those recommendations. They at least ought to have given a second chance to us by a reference. In a moment I find it very difficult to select the proper words—in a moment of carelessness the recommendations are brushed aside. Some of the officials have been put in a worse position than they were before. There was a recommendation in our report that nobody shall be made to suffer by our recommendations. But there are instances where actually people have suffered instead of getting any benefit. A number of petitions have been sent to the Government and I hope and believe that the Government will consider these questions on the merits and not to reject them simply because they have already come to definite conclusions.

The only other thing which I wish to observe is that you are saying that almost all that is possible for the improvement—moral and material prosperity—of the State is being done. I wish to differ from you in this respect. I want to point out to the Government, though some five years ago a resolution has been passed by this House that necessary measures should be taken to establish an Ayurvedic College and because for want of sympathy on the part of the Medical Department and also a spirit of unhealthy competition, far from carrying out the resolution, the Government have practically done very little in this matter. I would like to know why this Government is so very averse to introduce Ayurvedic hospital when you can spend Rs. 50,000 for four beds to suit the convenience of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer and his son.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—That statement is not correct at all.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Absolutely correct. Spending thousands of rupees for 100 paid medical men! Have you any right to do such a thing? Why, you smile! What is objectionable? Government provides hospitals for whom? For their paid servants. Are you not ashamed to twist it such a way as to suit one man or two? Your management of the State looks like that of a family management rather than a Government of the people. And now the last word I would like to address is—I do not want to say anything more for various reasons to-day—but I would submit to you gentlemen for your consideration that those who follow the Royal House which has as its morro

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"Honour is our Family Treasure" should at least keep a nodding acquaintance with that great virtue! Only when you realise that cardinal fact you will improve your position, your prestige your usefulness to the people.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, as usual another budget has come, when we have to review the Administration as a whole. Each one sees the administration from his own peculiar views and I see it from my own peculiar views. My view is that the Government in the land is governed by officialdom and that must be replaced by what we call popular government. The Government by officialdom, however good it may be, however satisfactory to the officials it may be, however one official may scratch the other officials back and say how satisfactory is the condition, yet it must have its drawbacks.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—We don't scratch backs.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—The Finance Member has however presented a surplus budget and the Diwan has endorsed that statement. That is what is called scratching. I shall be plain.

President.—Who is the Member who questions Mr. Salem's statement?

Mr A. B. Salem.—Sir, Dr. Verghese, the Hon'ble Member for Medicine. Perhaps he does not understand, because he always gets scratches in the wrong way. Sir, I don't depart from my position. It must be a popular Government. These are times when you cannot possibly afford to ignore popular voice. If you ignore it, popular voice will grow into such volume that it will drown you completely. That is the danger with which bureaucratic Governments are faced everywhere—not only in India but everywhere. And you will see that people will not be satisfied, unless they come to realise and enforce their will. People's will is the greatest force in any land, and here also the peoples' will is asserting itself. What do we find? Even in this House when a community like Nayars was ignored in the apportionment of appointments in the judiciary of the State, what do we find? Here, at once, those to whom such an event happened, came to realise it and began to say, 'we have been in this land always, we have been an important portion of the section of the population, we have ever been allowed these appointments', and now they are deprived of it, there comes their voice, of course, ignoring the fact that there are so many Nayars in the Revenue Department, in the Agricultural Department, in the Police Department, in the D. P. W., in the Forest Department and elsewhere. Shall we not complain? Shall I not complain and say that the very House of Cochin owes its existence to the Jews.

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Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Varghese.—Certainly.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—If you don't know that, it shows how ignorant you are! If you don't know I shall tell you the story. The adoption of the present ruling family of Perumbadappu was opposed by the Madampies who marched against the Raja for that purpose and showed the mother and the child from the Kovilakam at Cochin and when the young boy that was to be adopted and the mother were seated under the shade of the baniyan tree, it was a Jew that saved the situation. It was a Jew who went and complained to the Dutch Government of this kind of action, and it was the Dutch Governor who bombarded, actually bombarded, the opposition and not with mere words as I bombard you to-day. Shall I then say, my community has been completely and ungratefully ingored? What, if I say so? What have we been offered? Never mind. I don't mind all that. Treat everyone as he deserves. Although we want to get away from our communal feeling to nationalism, we have not yet realised it. My Hon'ble friend the Member for Ezhuva south was speaking for communalism, and nothing but communalism. I analysed his speech. His only grievance is to send a few of his men to appointments.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—I speak for nationalism.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—But the very speech goes the other way. People must speak as others can understand. I am very glad to hear you, but the speech has got the opposite effect.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Only for you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am telling you that the speech has been made here times without number. What is the result? You have got only a '*Kochu Kandam*'. Not even a *Big Kandam*.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Even that you have not got.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Those are all the evils of officialdom. If there had been a popular Government, my Hon'ble friend would have had a complete remedy. But, not being a popular Government, the officials would naturally turn all the wheels of the administration to their best advantage and I don't see any remedy for that. It is impossible to get them and act otherwise. Human nature constituted as it is, and based and wrapped in selfishness will assert itself, whether in official circle or in any other circle. That is all what I can say. Therefore the remedy for these things is to get out of our communalism into nationalism and establish a national popular Government that will sway according to the popular will. Then only will favouritism vanish and fairness come into play! Then only concentration of officers into particular groups or particular families or particular classes will come to be distributed. Then only will the other remedies come. What is the remedy? Let us see. What is the remedy for

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unemployment? My friend the Member for Ezhuvas south has drawn a true picture of the state of unemployment in this land. I am very glad he gave that warning. What is the remedy? You would say start commerce and industry. My friend from Palluvirutti said, "start factories for converting cocoanut produces" so that our people may consume finished products. Where will you get all this suggestion carried out in the absence of a popular Government, which alone can make the people's will the fundamental thing and not the will of A, B, C, D or E? Where will you get all these? Look at Italy. Italy has got a popular Government. They have denied subscriptions for earthquakes. We don't want charity from anywhere. That is the popular Government. Unless you have got a popular Government, where is the remedy for unemployment?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Is there a popular Government in Italy now?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Certainly. The Educational Member does not know that.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—That is news to some of us.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—It is a popular Government, Government as accepted by the people.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—He is not a hereditary monarch. He is only selected by the Italian nation.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Majorities and minorities will exist everywhere. If the majorities are not fair, the minorities will come to the wheel.

President.—Dictatorial Government.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—He is a man who has risen from the lowest position, the position of a workman—by loving his people. That is the man who came to power and was able to dictate to the King of Italy. That is the man, the man with a popular will. The people know that he looks after them. Without that, Mussolini cannot remain a minute. I can tell you that for the information of the Educational Member.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Thank you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—What are our needs, Sir? We want a Technological Institute in our State. I find that the budget, as far as that is concened, is utterly silent. Apologies of a Trades School, apologies of an Industrial school, at Trichur, for making a little carpentry, for making a little table or a little chair is no industrial education. We want you to realise that even the buttons we have, have to be got from outside. What does that show? There are so many useful things that we can and ought to make. What is the reason why we hanker after appointments? We have not got enough employment. The people of Cochin look to the Government for help. What else have they got in the country? You can ask them to utilise

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their talents. That is the problem we are faced with. If you cannot solve that problem, resign and say we have no part to play. That is the only remedy. We want it. We cannot force you, because there is somebody behind both of us to beat us. In the Irish Free State, the President started a few factories and in a few years' time he multiplied it to 20 or 30 factories to give employment to the Irish. You don't hear of unemployment in Ireland, because there are people to look after them. You ask us to look after ourselves. You don't permit us to do that. The British Government won't permit what you say. We are powerless. We cannot write to the British Government. We are quite prepared to write. You officers have not got the courage. You officers don't like to say what is the remedy. We can only ventilate a little inside this House. If we ventillate outside there is the C. I. D. That is the situation. Before desperation overtakes, please take precautionary measures. Once desperation takes place and the people are driven, people will do many things as is done in British India. What is the fate there? Every highly respected person is practically inside the jail and do you think that such a wave will not have its reflection in all the States in India? Certainly it must have. If a wave is rolling it must come everywhere and when it overtakes you what is the remedy? Then Sir, as regards the other thing as regards one characteristic of the present position of Cochin, I shall put it in one sentence. You suffer at one end from old age and at the other end from immaturity. At one end, there is old age and at the other end immaturity. Between the two there are different ages and we are in the middle ages! We are practically in the middle age, although we arein the 20th century, that this is the difficulty. All this is possible only in Government by officialdom. It wasvery curious to read in the Gazette in one of the Municipal Proceedings that the rule of retiring at 55 was insisted upon them by Government who ruled that they should not give extension. I think it is in the Mattancheri Municipality. They wanted the retention of one over age; it was refused; but how many are taking place on the other side, in the Government itself? He was past 55 and they wanted to retain him. Government said 'no'! I am very glad that the Government insists upon rules. But when it comes to them they do not. What I say is, it must be the same everywhere. It must take place in officialdom also. If the officers find that there is an old favourite officer they will retain him, in the absence of a popular Government to insist upon the rule and to enforce our will? All the members should take note of the fact and try to establish a popular responsible Government, when only the remedies that you seek will be obtained.

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I must also raise my voice of protest against the importation of another foreigner to govern us. That is a matter on which I feel most keenly. Cochin has got men who can act with honour and with ability and with more capacity than many a British Indian administrator. I.C.S. men in British India are not at all superior to the non-official elements in Cochin and I will challenge my Hon'ble friend for the Anglo-Indian Community. You make the non-officials shoulder the responsibility of the Diwan and see how they will act. If you give us the chance you will have occasion to come here and remark the opposite remarks.

Dr. E. A. Veigas.—Don't make a somersault.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We shall take care to bring you (*Laughter*) and then we shall see whether you will make the statement. Is it because of the Malayalam saying മാടത്തമുല്ലക്കു മണമില്ല. Well that won't change the fact, that we are Jasmines. Send it to France or Italy. It will come in a bottle as sweet scent. The Diwan of Travancore is the Member for the Executive Government at Madras—Sir M. Krishnan Nayar. He is a man from Malabar. What is wrong with any of the Cochinites? It only shows that the present officialdom has not been forcible enough to impress upon the paramount power the desires, the aspirations and the ambition of Cochin people to rule their own house. There are no people in the officialdom of Cochin to-day who could write properly to the British Government to say that the Cochin people resent such importation. We don't want Cochin talents to go waste. The entire experience of a Diwan, if a foreigner, is lost and will not be available for us. We could look to him for help, if a Cochinite, when out of office. That is why we agitated and brought your predecessor and yourself. Whatever be the defects, we will have the experience gained by the Diwan in the country; and when he is out of office we can go to him, and he will give his ripe knowledge and actual experience which we can utilise in furthering the progress in the country. When a foreigner comes here, he takes money and the whole knowledge that he gets also goes with him that side of Shoranur, never to be sent this side. Of what use is his knowledge of the country that should not be in the country? If we are to send all the knowledge that we get, outside Cochin of what good is it to us? However able they may be, however impartial they may be, and so on, the whole experience that they gain and the whole knowledge that they gain is lost to us. That is our grievance! Would England permit herself to be governed by a good American? Would England permit to be governed by any Frenchman or by any German

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Professor, or by an Indian Professor? Why should you not extend to others the same fairness that you expect for yourself? Is not that the golden rule? If you say Cochin has not got one fit, I say try. If you have not got any in your officialdom to select from—that is our criticism also—select from the non-officials. Put them there. Ask them to shoulder the responsibility and prove themselves either a good card or a bad card. It will be a calumny put upon us, if our administration in the centre, did not emphatically protest, and it is to strengthen their hands that I voice forth these, I have nothing more to add.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഭരണത്തിൽ പെട്ടന്ന പലേ സൂത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നായിട്ടാണ് ഈ ബഡ്ജററിനെയും ഞാൻ കണക്കാക്കുന്നത്. ഈ ബഡ്ജറു കൊണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾ വിചാരിക്കുന്ന ഗുണങ്ങളൊന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കാനിടയില്ലാത്ത വിധത്തിലാണ് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ബഡ്ജററിനോടു പെരുമാറുന്നത്. ജനങ്ങൾക്കു അത്യാവശ്യമായ ഏതെങ്കിലും കാര്യത്തിനു വേണ്ടി നടത്തുന്ന പ്രക്ഷോഭനഫലമായി ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതാകുമ്പോഴാണ് സാധാരണയായി ബഡ്ജററിൽ പണം കൊള്ളിക്കുന്നത്. അതു കാണുമ്പോൾ ഈ കൊല്ലത്തിൽ ടി പണി നടക്കുമെന്നു കണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾക്കു സമാധാനമായി. പണി എപ്പോൾ കഴിയും എന്നായിരിക്കും അവരുടെ പിന്നത്തെ വിചാരം. ആ പണി നടത്തിയിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ വിവരം കൊല്ലാവസാനത്തിലാണ് അവർക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നത്. അപ്പോഴെക്കും ജനങ്ങൾ വീണ്ടും നിലവിളി തുടങ്ങും. അതുകണ്ടും നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു വീണ്ടും അതിലേക്ക് ബഡ്ജററിൽ പണം കൊള്ളിക്കും. വീണ്ടും അതു ലാപ്സാകും. ഇങ്ങിനെയാണ് ബഡ്ജറു കൊണ്ടു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ജനങ്ങളെ കളിപ്പിക്കുന്നത്.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ കേസിനെ ജനറലൈസ് ചെയ്യാനുണ്ടോ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—സാധാരണ നടന്നുവന്നിരുന്നതു് അങ്ങിനെ തന്നെ. നെല്ലിയാമ്പതി റോഡു പണിയുടെ കാര്യം എടുക്കുക. നാട്ടുപ്രദേശത്തു തന്നെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു നടക്കാൻ പോലും വഴി ഇല്ലെന്ന മുറവിളി കൂട്ടുമ്പോൾ അതു ചെയ്തു കൊടുക്കാതെ വല്ല മലയിലും കൊണ്ടുപോയി പണം ചിലവു ചെയ്തിട്ട് ഒരു കാര്യവുമില്ല. ഒരു പണി തുടങ്ങിയാൽ അതു മുഴുവനാക്കാതെ ഇട്ടുകളയുന്നതു വളരെ കഷ്ടമാണ്. പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും പുതിയതായി പണിയുന്ന റോഡുകളുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇതു് വളരെ ഉപദ്രവം ഉണ്ടാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ ധാരാളം ഉദാഹരണങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടു്. ഓരോന്നും പ്രത്യേകമായി പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഇവിടെയിരിക്കുന്നവക്കെല്ലാം മനസ്സിലായെന്നു വരികയില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു പറ

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യുന്നമില്ല. ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥാപിതമായ നിശ്ചയം ഇല്ലാത്ത വിധത്തിലാണ് ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ പണം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നത്. അതു ഒരിക്കലും ആശാസ്യമായ ഏർപ്പാടല്ല. പണം ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കൊള്ളിച്ചാൽ ആ പണി ആ കൊല്ലം നടത്താനുള്ള മുൻനടപടികൾ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെന്നു കാണുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിലേക്കായി പണം ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽപെടുത്തരുതു്. ആ കൊല്ലത്തിൽതന്നെ പണി നടത്തത്തക്ക സൗകര്യങ്ങളുള്ള ഇനങ്ങൾക്കായെ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ പണം കൊള്ളിക്കാൻ പാടുള്ളൂ. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് എല്ലാ കൊല്ലവും പണം ലാപ്സാകുന്നതു്.

ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഭരണത്തെപ്പറ്റി ചുരുക്കിപറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ പല മെമ്പർമാരും കഠിനമായാക്ഷേപിച്ചും ഗൗരവതരമായും പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതുകൊണ്ടു പ്രയോജനമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടും എന്റെ വിനീതമായ അപേക്ഷ അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യരുതെന്നാണ്. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടുമായി ഒ, ന്യ കൊല്ലത്തെ പരിചയമെങ്കിലും ഇനിക്കു ഉള്ളതാണ്. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെപ്പറ്റി ചുരുക്കിപറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരു റബ്ബർപന്തുപോലെയാണ്. അതു അടിക്കുന്തോറും പൊന്തിവരുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് നാം ആരും വലിയ അടി അടിക്കരുതെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ. എന്നാൽ ഒരു മാതിരി സമാധാനമായി കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടാൻ കഴിയും.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ചന്തിന്റെ കാര്യം ശരിയായി മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അന്തുക്കൻ.—റബ്ബർപന്തു് കൂടുകയും കളിക്കാനായി ക്രമത്തിനു കീഴോട്ടടിക്കുമ്പോൾ പതുക്കെയെ പൊന്തുകയുള്ളൂ. അധികം ഊക്കോടെ അടിച്ചാൽ അധികം പൊന്തും. അപ്പോൾ വീണ്ടും അടിക്കാൻ കൈയ് എത്തിയില്ലെന്നുവരും. അതുകൊണ്ടു് അധികം ഊക്കില്ലാതെ അടിക്കുന്നതാണുത്തമം.

ഭൂലോകത്തിൽ വല്ലയിടത്തും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുള്ള ചിലവു കുറച്ചതായി അറിഞ്ഞെങ്കിലും കേട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ഇവിടെയും കുറച്ചിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അന്തുക്കൻ.—നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് അതും ചെയ്യും. അവിടത്തെ കല്പന അവിടേക്കുതന്നെ അറിവില്ലാതെ വരികയില്ലല്ലൊ? കണ്ടിജൻസി ഇനത്തിൽ കുറവുചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

റാവുസാഹിബ്ബു് മിസ്റ്റർ സി. മത്തായി.—ആകപ്പാടെ നോക്കിയാൽ കൂടുതലാണു് ഒരു സംഗതിയിൽ കുറച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മറേതെങ്കിലും കാര്യത്തിൽ കൂട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ടോട്ടൽ ഡിമാൻഡിൽ കുറവുണ്ടോ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അന്തുക്കൻ.—കുറവുതന്നെയാണു്. കൂടുതലാണെന്നു അഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടോ?

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റാവുസാഹിബ്ബ് മിസ്റ്റർ സി. മത്തായി.—കൂടുതൽ തന്നെയാണ്.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—അടുത്തുള്ള മറ്റു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുകളുടെയും നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെയും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസച്ചിലവു താരതമ്യപ്പെടുത്തിയാൽ കുറവൊ കൂടുതലൊ? തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ തന്നെ എടുക്കുക.

റാവുസാഹിബ്ബ് മിസ്റ്റർ സി. മത്തായി.—കൂടുതൽ എന്നു പറയുന്നതു കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലത്തെയും ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തെയും ചിലവിനെ താരതമ്യപ്പെടുത്തിയാണ്. അടുത്തുള്ള ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുകളെ നോക്കിയിട്ടല്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു് ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള നയം മേലാൽ തുടരരുതെന്നാണ.

ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമേധാവികളുടെ ഭരണം ഏതാണ്ടു് ഒരു കുഡും ബഭരണംപോലെയാകുന്നതിനു കാരണം അവർ ആഫീസിൽപോകാതെ എപ്പോഴും കുഡുംബത്തിൽ തന്നെ ഇരിക്കുന്നതാണു് (*Hear, hear*) ഇവർ ആഫീസ്സിൽപോകാറില്ല. (*Hear, hear*) എപ്പോഴും കുഡുംബത്തിൽ ഇരിക്കുമ്പോൾ കുട്ടികളിലും മറ്റു കുഡുംബക്കാര്യങ്ങളിലും ശ്രദ്ധിച്ചുപോകും. ഇപ്രകാരം കുഡുംബപരിസരങ്ങളിലിരുന്നു് ഭരണം നടത്തുമ്പോൾ ഉദ്യോഗ്നിലയിലും അതേവിധത്തിൽ പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചുപൊകുന്നതിൽ കുറ്റം പറയാനില്ല. (*Hear, hear*) ഇതുകൊണ്ടു് എപ്പോഴും ആഫീസിൽ ഇരിക്കണമെന്നും അല്ല പയുന്നതു്. ആഴ്ചയിൽ മൂന്നു ദിവസമെങ്കിലും ആഫീസിൽ ഇരിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—പക്ഷെ ഇവർ അധികദിവസവും സക്കീട്ടിലല്ലെ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—സക്കീട്ടിലിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ആഫീസിലായിരിക്കണമെന്നു പറയുന്നില്ല. (ചിരി)

പിന്നെ ഒന്നു പറയാനുള്ളതു് സാധാരണ എല്ലാവർക്കും ഉള്ള ഒരു മയ്യാദഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണ്ടതിനെപ്പറ്റിയാണു്. ആരെങ്കിലും എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒന്നു ചോദിച്ചാലൊ അപേക്ഷിച്ചാലൊ മറുപടി പറയുക എന്നതു ലോകസാധാരണമായ ഒരു മയ്യാദയാണു്. അതുപോലും നമ്മുടെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനില്ല. എന്തെങ്കിലും അത്യാവശ്യമായ ഒരു കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റിതന്നെ ഒരു ഹർജികൊടുത്താൽ മറുപടിപോലും കിട്ടുകയില്ല, ഇതു വളരെ കഷ്ടമായ ഒരേർപ്പാടാണു്.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—അപേക്ഷയൊ ഹർജിയൊ അഞ്ചൽവഴി അയച്ചാൽ ഗവമ്മെൻറിനു കിട്ടുകയില്ലെന്നു വിശ്വാസമുണ്ടൊ?

മിസ്റ്റർ ഐ. ഇ. അമ്പൂക്കൻ.—അങ്ങിനെയും ആവാം; എന്താ നിശ്ചയം? എന്തായാലും മറുപടി കൊടുക്കുക എന്ന മയ്യാദ മേലാലെങ്കിലും പ്രവൃത്തിയിൽ കാണിക്കണം,

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Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuttassan.—Mr. President, Sir, we are met here to discuss the last budget of this the Second Council. The Finance Member has once again come forward with a surplus budget. He expects in his forecast for the next year to add to the accumulated surplus of the State a sum of Rs. 37,000 more. Says the Finance Member "the net surplus to the credit of the State which stood at Rs. 41·56 lakhs of rupees at the end of 1100 rose to Rs. 93·49 lakhs at the end of 1104." He adds he fervently believes "that in spite of the all-round progress which we have made and in spite of the steady growth of expenditure during the period we have been enabled to maintain a satisfactory state of affairs indicative of a sound financial policy, a position which can leave no room for anxiety for some years to come". How I wish these excellent words were true. But, I ask, is it a true picture that has been presented to us. To me, it sounds, it is not. Let us look into these things a little in detail. In presenting the budget for 1101 M. E.—the first time the budget was presented for consideration by the representatives of the people—the Finance Member is seen to have traced the financial position of the State from the year 1073. It is stated there that the closing balance of the State in that year was Rs. 46,19,000. It is seen from his speech that, as a result of criticism from the Madras Government from time to time on this system of hoarding up money, a spirited financial policy was adopted and the construction of the Cochin State Railway requiring a huge outlay was the result. The ill-fated Cochin Tanneries involving again a heavy capital outlay was launched soon after with the result that the State liability at the end of 1082 was nearly Rs. 24,00,000 including 2 debenture loans of Rs. 1,00,000 each at 5 and 4 percent respectively and the transactions of the year 1082 resulted in a deficit of Rs. 62,773. According to the Finance Member a definite financial programme was laid down about the year 1084, with the result that by the year 1087 the Government had been able to clear off the whole of 5 per cent debenture loan of Rs. 1,00,000 which matured in 1086 and had sufficient money in the sinking funds to enable them to pay off the 4 per cent debenture loan on maturity and the year closed with a surplus of Rs. 1,92,000. The Land Revenue system which has brought Cochin to the most unenviable position of the most heavily taxed country in the world developed the finances of the State with the result that the Finance Member is enabled in that speech of his to breathe a sight of relief when he says that with increased income from Land Revenue, Salt, Abkari, Tobacco, Stamps, Customs and Railway the net surplus at the end of 1099 rose to Rs. 30,00,352.

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All the good things that Cochin can boast of are the achievements of this period. They were days when the State was administered with the help of able statesmen like Sir Rajagopalachari, Sir A. R. Banerjee, Sir J. W. Bhore and Sir Vijayaraghavachari. This cannot be called a period when things were carried on with "the calm considerateness of a mature age following the motto 'Hasten Slowly'" but rather one of 'youthful impetuousity' for which the State is all the better. In his first budget speech the Finance Member seems to have made these significant observations 'So much, Sir, for the past financial history of the State which I may briefly sum up by saying that, beginning with a large surplus in 1073, the State had to pass through a great financial crisis from which she recovered slowly and steadily until she again reached an era of stable equilibrium from which, I submit, it is dangerous to depart.' And you, Sir, in your statement on that budget have stated as follows: "I need not say that it is a well-known principle that the budget should be balanced; otherwise we do not know where we are, and we may probably be drifting nobody knows where. Every possible care has, therefore, been taken to keep the disbursements within the receipts, and where a tendency is observed for disbursements going in excess of receipts, timely precaution has to be taken to check the increase or to find possible sources of revenue for meeting the increased disbursements." And it is a grim pleasure to note that both the master and the servant have strictly adhered to this principle expounded by them and you have been able, Sir, to show to a superficial observer that things are alright in Cochin. The Finance Member in echoing 'his master's voice' in presenting the next year's budget has stated with a glee that this so-called surplus has been reached "not by stinting expenditure on Departments catering to the welfare of the people, not by tapping new sources of revenue by the imposition of fresh taxation but by a judicious and discriminate handling of the State Finances and by a scrupulous care to see that the money was spent properly in the true interests of the State". Let us take these beautiful expressions one after another and examine them for a while.

First "not by stinting expenditure on Departments catering to the welfare of the people". Your Government has, it is gratifying to note, anticipated such an examination and a ready reply is attempted to be given. In the Finance Member's tabular statement regarding expenditure on Departments of public utility it is shown that on Agriculture and Panchayats, Co-operation and Education beginning with two lakhs, 11,000, and 11 lakhs respectively in round figures in 1101 we have come to four lakhs and thirty thousand, 21,900 and 14,82,000 for the ensuing year. But what are these figures compared to the total revenue of the State and what is it that really goes to the benefit of the taxpayer when the huge sums consumed by the fat salaries of some of the officers of these Departments are deducted therefrom?

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We will find that what is really spent on these Departments is but an insignificant fraction of what is collected from the people. Then again when people ask for something urgently to be done unto them, do we not hear the Government often saying something like "to lie over for want of funds or this will be allowed when funds permit"? I know there are requests almost quarter of a century old to which such replies have been given by the Government. Does the Government recognise that in these orders the necessity for the step proposed is recognised and that their plea is only one of want of funds? Has not the demand for free compulsory education been attempted to be put off on the ground of want funds? How could the Government logically plead want of funds when they have surpluses to their credit? If this is not 'stinting expenditure on Departments catering to the welfare of the people" what is it that deserves that appellation?

Now to the absence of fresh or additional taxation;—what is it that you have to tax hereafter? Have not every one of the necessaries of life been taxed? Is not the revenue on the land which gives you paddy for your food the heaviest in the world, and is not salt taxed? The only thing that you have not directly taxed is air for breathing and that is because you possibly cannot do it. It is again not a virtue not to tax those who ought to be taxed. What is it that stands in the way of non-agricultural income being taxed. Does not fairness to the hard-working landowner require that the lazy and indolent capitalist should be taxed? Why, Sir, do you not do this? The reason is obvious. It will prejudicially affect the minority growing fat at the expense of the toiling majority.

Thirdly "by a judicious and discriminate handling of the State finances". Let us look at the budget figures of the following years.

RECEIPTS

	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105
Budget	70,60,300	70,36,700	7,46,89,000	77,62,000	86,09,100
Actuals	71,68,230	75,38,453	86,24,293	91,11,859	92,26,702

EXPENDITURE

Budget	71,98,300	68,91,000	72,75,800	71,16,400	82,95,800
Actuals	65,00,537	66,91,011	67,14,128	73,43,722	88,69,800

We find in all these years a systematic process of under budgetting the receipts and over budgetting the disbursements. This can mean only one of two things either it is deliberately done with a view to proclaim large expenditure on Development Departments and finally adding to the surpluses or it shows colossal ignorance of budgetting the income and expenses of a tiny State like Cochin. The persons responsible, whoever they be, for the preparation of budgets for these years must plead guilty to one or other of these charges. Yet another matter.

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To allow the large resources of the forests of Cochin to be mismanaged and misappropriated by a special class of persons and fail to bring the offender to book even when caught redhanded is certainly unpardonable. Will you call these a judicious and discriminate handling of the State finances ?

Lastly 'with a scrupulous care to see that the money was spent properly in the true interests of the State'. How much money out of the budgetted figures for Agriculture and Panchayats and communications under Public Works has been allowed to lapse year after year. The answers to the interpallations in this Council on these subjects will clearly show that huge lapses have been a feature of these two Departments. Another example. From 1104 a new Budget Head is opened, "uplift of the Depressed Classes". What a great injustice is being done in the name of these much abused people ? Large sums of money are asked for and granted in the name of these people for feeding them, clothing them and to give light to them. I admit the Hon'ble Protector is exerting a good deal to see that the funds are not misused. But what can an old gentleman, who has been given extension thrice and for the last time until further orders do to check the vagaries of some of his unscrupulous subordinates. The blame ought to lie elsewhere and not on him. The fact is that the large percentage of this money does not reach those for whom it is intended ; it leaves the Government Treasury and vanishes soon after without giving either food, clothes or light to the depressed but giving all these to the depraved middlemen. I am not prepared to call this 'a scrupulous care to see that the money was spent properly in the true interests of the State'.

On the constructive side, what, Sir ,are your achievements? Have you Sir, been able to so change your educational policy as not to turn out in hundreds graduates on Rs. 15 per mensem at times even less ? Have you been able to impart in Cochin Schools and Colleges education as would be fit to give one his food at least. Does the spectacle of a large number of young men with care-worn emaciated faces sitting Dharna at the doors and in some cases the gates of departmental heads proclaim the success or failure of your educational policy ? The recent grant of a lakh of rupees to the Hindu University at Benares with a recurring grant of Rs. 6,000 per annum shows in unmistakable terms the utter disregard that you have for improving the material prosperity of the Cochinites. Have you, Sir, cared to see that by way of conditions imposed, the money's worth is secured to the Cochin tax-payer ? Could not a Department of studies useful to Cochinite to earn a livelihood be started and

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worked up with the Rs. 10,000 per annum which these figures work out.

Has not the policy of inefficient checking or no checking at all of some of the officers of the State resulted in a thriving community—the weavers of Kuthampilli in the Talappalli Taluk-leaving the State in large numbers to save themselves from the inroads of your village officers to collect back from them what has not really gone to them?

President.—And all those who have gone have returned.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—But the process of leaving has been going on.

President.—But the process of returning keeps pace.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—Yes to some extent in recent months.

The Finance Member probably thinks that it has been an achievement to bring out surplus budgets year after year and to hoard up a large surplus. But the question is whether it is really a surplus budget that he has been presenting from time to time and whether there is with the Government the surplus which they say they have. To me the answer for both is in the negative. When you deduct from these annual surplus figures the amount of revenue you have derived by your Excise policy and no progressive Government has a right to collect this tainted revenue—you find you are faced with the deficit every year. A very large portion of the accumulated surplus is the aggregate of the Excise Revenue for the last few years which you collected on your oft-quoted principles of 'maximum revenue with minimum consumption'. That expression is only a cloak to cover your sins with. What right has a State, I ask, to collect money from the people by drugging them, by poisoning them and by bringing untold miseries into their otherwise happy homes? A civilised Government with even an air of sincerity in its protestations of the policy of ultimate prohibition must do something tangible to bring down consumption. Various methods have been suggested by this House but none which will affect the revenue has been accepted by the Government. When questioned about its activities in the line of prohibition the Government would come forward with a series of methods alleged to be employed by them which when analysed come to nothing. The answers to questions Nos. 16 and 17 of this Budget Session will illustrate my point. I really regret that the Hon'ble Member for Kunnamkulam who had sent up these questions was not present to pursue those questions with supplementary ones and expose the hollowness of the Government. In this connection it is

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important to note that the right of putting supplementary questions stand denied to other Members. In a word I have not been able to see an iota of sincerity in the Government in its loudly proclaimed policy of prohibition. The Finance Member who has taken pains to quote Sir George Schuster in preparing his forecast regarding Customs Revenue is not seen to have noted the observations made by the Finance Member of the Madras Government regarding the income from the Excise Revenue, nor even to look around him into British India or Travancore or even within the State itself to see what would be the effect of the present day movement aiming at prohibition on the income of this country from Excise Revenue. For 1106 he seems to have budgetted for Rs. 13,21,300 as against Rs. 12,93,800, the revised figures for 1105. Even inactive Cochin is expected to come up to the level of the surrounding countries in the matter of prohibition. Your sending police officers to question persons who held meetings to preach prohibition, to advice people not to give their trees for tapping, to shadow individuals and societies working in these lines will only intensify their activities which are sure to bear fruit earlier or later. If the Government will not take care of the happiness of their peoples they will themselves begin to do the needful. In short the Excise policy of the State has been one of wilful insincerity of purpose throughout.

Then to your surplus. If the bad debts of the Government moneys invested in and lent to the Tanneries, the Potteries, the Vaniampara Rubber Estate and a few others, is deducted from your surplus, it goes down by many lakhs.

President.—The others? What are those? Please enlighten.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—The advances made to Sitaram.

President.—Is it a bad debt?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—It has been the subject matter of criticism on the floor of this House on more than one occasion.

Now, Sir, you have in your statement on the budget under discussion made a significant observation. It is where you ask the Council to give expression to its views on the orders passed on the recommendations of the Standing Finance Committee as modified by this Council. You have, Sir, stated in that connection that in spite of the representations to the contrary by individuals and Departmental Heads, determined to give effect to your orders and follow them to the very letter and that the orders are a settled fact at least for some time. Yet you would

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ask for our views on these belated orders. Can we seriously take that as a sincere call from you to hear our views with the object of using them, to quote your own words, "as practical suggestions to enable the Government to carry on the administration on more and more sound lines"? Are you, Sir, I ask, going to modify your orders in the light of the views to be expressed by us. We know from our past experience that you would be the last to pay the slightest heed to our suggestions. To cite one typical example of your wilful flouting of our wishes, have you not put the pay of the Departmental Heads at unduly large figures although the Council had unanimously voted for a reduction? Yet another example is furnished by your determination not to separate the Agriculture and the Panchayat Departments. You have instead of giving effect to the unanimous wishes of the people kept the two Departments under one head and increased the pay of the Superintendent. When defects in the Pancahayat administration were pointed out the charge was answered by saying that the Superintendent was overworked on the Agricultural side and vice versa. It is news to learn that increasing the pay of an officer is a solution for the better administration of the Departments under him. The increase in the pay of the Superintendent and sanctioning an additional staff have only helped you to show that you are spending a much larger sum for Agriculture and Panchayats this year and threw dust in the eyes of the credulous. Throughout the long proceedings one fails to see any underlying principle which has guided the Government in their orders. Every particular order has got a special argument to support it which is often antagonistic to the reasons given for the order next following. And what is the effect produced upon the services by these orders? Discontent and murmur with all these things that come in their train. The orders have not been liberally conceived at all. And in giving effect to these orders themselves, what have you done, Sir? Many a junior has been enabled to march a long stride over his senior who had the disadvantage of being given an increment an year back or so by an unsympathetic and whimsical interpretation of the rule of one increment for every 3 years. Yet another instance on the miserly way in which these orders have been given effect to has just reached my ears. It is said that instructions have been issued by the Comptroller that in giving effect to the sanctioned scheme, that persons promoted and transferred become eligible for the increment only from the date of their joining duty and not from the first of Chingam 1105 as specially ordered by the Proceedings. If this circular is issued with the Government sanction, the Government has vetoed its own orders. If otherwise, it is, but an

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illustration of 'Departmental Heads growing into miniature Diwans.' In either case the same has to be regretted. Again in the case of the poorly paid school master, his grievance stands unredressed. The lowest pay of the school master was recommended to be fixed at the very modest figure of Rs. 20 per mensem. The Government has not been able to grant even this. The lowest grade teacher is to enjoy the big salary of Rs. 17 per mensem and that even is not vouchsafed to the Aided School Teachers, for the same order says that the 12½% contingency allowance granted to aided schools is reduced to 7½%. The Director of Public Instruction comes in for a good deal of attack in this connection as he is rightly blamed for not fighting for his Department at the proper time. To any one who has the welfare of the future generations at heart, to read in the Finance Committee Report, that he was of opinion that nothing has to be done to them now is simply painful. I really regret that neither the Director of Public Instruction nor the 'mature Government' had sufficient imagination in them to picture before their minds' eye a discontented teacher of the lower classes going to the class room and the bad effects which his condition is sure to produce on the impressionable minds of the young ones entrusted to his care. If the Government can still find its way to do bare justice to these class of people the present generation as well as the future ones will be thankful to them.

If the scrupulous care with which Rao Bahadur P. I. Verghis was retired from the Chief Court Bench the moment he completed his 55th year will be employed to other cases also —present as well as future—the people will be much relieved. To grant extension to some and to refuse the same to others, often to more deserving ones is certainly a thing which has to be put an end to. We are however gratified to note that the Government has been pleased to place on record their appreciation of the services of the much respected Chief Justice especially as it comes from the same Government which did not think it necessary to so record the services of the 'peoples' Diwan' Mr. P. Damodara Menon, or the energetic Diwan Peishkar Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It is time.

President.—There are others to speak. You cannot insist on the 20 minutes. How many minutes more do you want?

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—Only two minutes. I have only one more thing to be said. It is to thank you, Sir, and the energetic Chief Engineer who have been pleased

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to take up two at least of the crying needs of the people of my constituency. My only prayer is that those that are taken up may be pushed on and the others pointed out by me in the last budget speech of mine be undertaken soon.

Mr. K. Muhamed Seethi.—Sir, I confess that I have very little to contribute to the general discussion of this year's budget except to make a few observations on certain salient features of the policy of the Government reflected therein. In this connection it would be only fair on my part to express my appreciation of the sincere attempt which seems to have been made by the Finance Member to supply this House with a comprehensive view of the finances of the State. Though one may not find one's way to agree with him in his conclusions on the facts presented, one may not find it difficult to admit that he has, to the advantage of the House, put flesh and blood into the dry figures of the budget he is called upon to present.

As has been said repeatedly in this House, huge surpluses are no sure or necessary index of the material advance or prosperity of the State. The increase in the average income of every citizen of the State is the only real indication of the material progress and prosperity. The Agricultural and Industrial Departments are the agencies which work and ought to work in this direction. No doubt the Government has been spending an increasingly large amount of money on those Departments ranging from two lakhs and 26 rupees in 1101 to four lakhs thirty thousand and nine hundred rupees budgetted for 1106 and Rs. 19,634 in 1101 to Rs. 16,25,000 in 1106 on Agriculture and Panchayat and Scientific and Industrial Departments respectively. But the pity of it is that the amounts so spent hardly goes to the betterment of the lot of the citizens of the State. The following criticism of the Agricultural Department by one of the members of the Special Finance Committee will repay perusal and consideration.

This is what the Committee says:—

"Agriculture being the mainstay of the people of the State and also the source of all raw produce for other industries and seeing that industries are still in a nascent or incipient stage in our State arrangements have to be made to carry out a survey of the different varieties of soils and seeds available in the State along with an industrial survey of the State. The only way but a very effective way of making a ryot adopt an improvement is to demonstrate it in practice and prove that it is capable of application by him and more profitable than his trivial method. Unfortunately the Central Farm has become more spectacular than business like and completely barren of profits. That is, the experiments have failed. It will be an act of grace for the Government to own their failure and wind up an encumbrance which does no credit to the Department and is only a burden to the

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tax-payer. No demonstration of any improvement need be undertaken at all that cannot be made an economic proposition. The Agricultural Department does not seem to be serving any very useful purpose. It is mainly intended for the public to take lessons the refrom regarding improved methods of Agriculture ; but it is more than doubtful whether anybody has cared to take any lessons from it, the reason for this reluctance being the prohibitive cost of the manures used in the Farm. People occasionally visit the Farm because the spot is refreshingly cool and the scenery delightful. "But at what cost is all this achieved ?" is not consideted at all."

There is another observation by the Special Finance Committee with regard to the necessity of demonstration farms in every taluk. I would respectfully submit to this House that that is the sure and effective remedy for most of the vital defects in the working of the Agricultural Department. This is what they say:—

" For scientific experiments to be successful we require a higher type of men than those whom our resources can command ; such experiments are now being carried on by highly competent men in several parts of India, and the results of their work are always at our disposal. Demonstration on a large scale in one centre of the State cannot be expected to break through the hide-bound conservatism of our poverty-stricken ryots. What appears to be necessary is to open small demonstration farms in different centres in rotation in each Taluk, so that the benefits of improved methods of cultivation may be demonstrated at the very gates of the ryots." The Government have not as yet put this recommendation into practice. As I have repeatedly said in this House, the Agricultural Department has failed miserably in making itself known and much loss felt and appreciated by the people of the State. Except the rural exhibitions which the Department has been holding for the last two years there has been no attempt worth mentioning on the part of the Department to propagate improved methods of cultivation among a population superstitiously attached to the conservative ideas about Agriculture. One is irresistibly struck by the irony of fate when one contemplates over the state of affairs and reads the following sentence in the Finance Member's Speech.

"For the spread of Agriculture on improved methods no expenditure has been spared and a forward policy has been followed by liberal grants to the Central Farm by annual exhibitions in each Taluk and by the entertainment of highly qualified experts got trained by grant of scholarship to carry to the very door the knowledge of scientific methods of Agriculture." Mark the last part of the sentence. What has the Government done to carry to the ryots'-door the knowledge of scientific methods of Agriculture ? Do these highly qualified experts ever go to the villages, get into touch with the villagers and instill into their minds the wisdom which they are called upon to impart them ?

To this question there can be only one answer and that is an unqualified and emphatic "No". Has the Department any perio-

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dical publication to spread its scientific methods of Agriculture? Has it ever been responsible for any meetings of the villagers for teaching them the improved methods of cultivation? Has it printed and distributed broad-cast leaflets exhorting the ryots to adopt the novel methods which they are expected to propagate? I say that the Department has been unpardonably lax in the matter of propaganda especially at a time when propaganda is the one dependable factor in shaping public opinion on any subject. With the great advance our people have made in the matter of literacy and education the Department can successfully adopt all the methods of modern propaganda. Let the Government ear-mark a portion of the amount spent on the Agricultural Department for propaganda alone and if it is well and truly spent time will not be far off when the ryot will really enjoy the benefits of the Agricultural Department. Let the Department draw up a practical scheme of propaganda and entrust its officers with a conscientious working of the same so that they might come in contact with the people whom they are appointed to help and serve. The burdening of the Agricultural Department with the manning of the Panchayat Department has to a great extent diminished the utility of both. Unfortunately the bifurcation of the Department recommended by the Special Finance Committee and approved by the Council was not accepted by the Government. The sooner the Government accepts this proposal the better for the country.

With regard to the industrial activities of the State I must say that the colossal and sad failures of the tanneries should not deter them from making a bold attempt to revive that industrial concern, and make it produce the great results that were expected of that concern at the time of its inception. Further attempts be profitably made in inducing business-men working in leather industries to come to our rescue by holding out to men sufficient concessions and encouragement till they make the concern a going one.

The huge amount realised from the Excise Department afford us no consolation. As I said in my first Budget speech the Excise revenue is tainted money-tainted by the blood of the people. Prohibition should be the policy of the State and whatever practical difficulties the Government might suggest in adopting and enforcing it, I may be permitted to say that the Government is morally bound to overcome them and save the people entrusted to its care from the curse of drink and intoxicating drugs. As has been pointed out the country will be only gaining in the stamina of its man-hood and in material prosperity if it is rid of this great evil. The Government ought to follow a

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courageous policy in the matter and bring about total prohibition which progressive States even in the west have thought fit to adopt.

Coming to the needs of the special constituency which I have the honour to represent, I regret to say that they have not received the attention which they deserve at the hands of the Government. It was during the regime of Mr. (now Sir) T. Vijayaraghavachariar that a definitely sympathetic policy in the matter of Muslim Education and advancement was initiated by the Government. A number of stipends and scholarships were provided for Muslim boys and girls in the Educational Code and the appointment of Quran Teachers and Arabic Pandits was sanctioned. Besides, concession in the matter of school fees was also allowed. The encouragement sought to be given by the above concessions coupled with the really sympathetic and sincere interest taken by the Director of Public Instruction went a long way to awaken the Muslim Community to the advantages of education. But the policy was not consistently followed when poverty certificates were insisted on in the case of Muslim pupils also and stipends were not extended to the Muslim girls attending Vernacular Primary Schools. And a scholarship was denied to the first Muslim student who went up for his course in the M.B. Bc. class in the Madras Medical College in spite of his repeated representations for the same. The reduction of the stipend which used to be given to the girls attending English Primary Schools has caused a perceptible set-back to the female education among Muslims which fact is noted by the Director of Public Instructions on page 25 of his *Administration Report* for the year 1101 though he ascribes it to the general apathy of the community in the matter of female education. It is significant that there is a very small increase in the number of Muslim Pupils in the year 1104 as is noted in the Director's *Administration Report* of that year. No doubt the Government appointed a Muslim Educational Committee but the unsatisfactory treatment meted out to that Committee will be referred to by me when I move my cuts on the Budget Demands. This Council unanimously recommended the appointment of a Muslim Inspector of Schools but the Government have not found scope for such an appointment. If a small State like Puddukotta could find scope for a Muslim Inspector of Schools, if nearly all the other native States could find scope for one or more Muslim Inspectors, it is regrettable that our Government do not find the scope for such an appointment. The community has in unequivocal terms inside and outside the Councils requested the Government that such an appointment may be made. A Muslim

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Inspector of Schools cannot only supervise the Muslim Schools and direct the Arabic teaching imparted in special as well as mixed schools, but he can do a good deal to spread education and enlightenment in the community. It may be noted, Sir, that when a Muslim Inspector of Schools was appointed in the sister State of Travancore there was hardly any Muslim School there and there was only a small Muslim School going population What is the condition of Muslim education in that State at present? Through the exertion of the Muslim Inspector a large number of Muslim schools have sprung up and there is a wonderful rise in the percentage of Muslim pupils attending schools. Is this not sufficient to refuse the argument that there is no scope for a Muslim Inspector in the State as one based upon the mistake of putting the cart before the horse?

The cruelty shown to the Quran Teachers who, as was admitted by the Member for Education, have no other source of income for their sustenance and who have to teach even the elements of the Arabic language besides the mere reading of the Quran in giving them a monthly salary of Rs. 10 is really deplorable. The Arabic Teachers have not been placed on a footing of equality with the Pandits of other languages in the High Schools though the nature of the work done by them is in no way less important and difficult than that done by the latter. I hope the Government will lose no time in accepting the representations of the community on these and similar matters and will treat the recommendations of their own Education Committee with the importance which they rightly deserve.

One word about Cranganur and I have done. The Finance Member has referred in his speech to the anxious condition of the finances of that principality. The anomalous practice of treating Cranganur as a separate unit for financial purposes though it is treated as a part and parcel of the State for administrative requirements is responsible for a good deal of the difficulties of that Taluk. It is the desire of the people of Cranganur that their Taluk might be treated as any other Taluk of the State and they do not believe that the prestige or the privileges of the Cranganur Chief will in any way suffer thereby. I am sure that, if the Chief is approached in the right spirit by the Government in this matter, he will not be an obstacle to this desirable proposal.

The House rose for lunch at 2 p. m. and met again at 3 p. m. with the Deputy President in the Chair.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Sir, several criticisms have been made on the floor of this House on the budget pro-

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posals as well as on the General Administration. The Government would welcome all criticisms whether good or bad and would try to meet them as far as possible. But the Government cannot but protest against the tone and spirit in which a few of the Hon'ble Members have been pleased to make their remarks. I do not propose to specify who those Members are or to say which particular remarks have been couched in objectionable terms or spirit. The House must have been noticing them and must have silently at any rate been condemning them.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—There was no calling from the Chair to that effect.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—On a point of order. Is it right for any Member generally to say that he does not like the tone and the spirit of the speeches made in the House. I want a ruling whether any Member has a right to say that he does not like the tone of the speeches.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—You have started it.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Is it the Leader's opinion or the Government's opinion? Is it personal or Government?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—I represent the Government and as such you have to take it that it is the opinion of the Government.

Mr. K. J. Antony.—What we want to know is whether any one excepting the President is competent to make such remarks.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—I mentioned nobody's name. It is not my fault. You began it.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—The question is whether it is the leader's own opinion or the Government's opinion.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—This opinion is not expressed by me alone. I have heard one Hon'ble Member at least making mention of the fact that it was not proper to have introduced personal elements in making remarks. So, it is not a new thing which I have given expression to in this House.

I shall now proceed to reply to the criticisms levelled against the budget proposals and the administration. On the budget proposals the gravest criticism that has been offered is that the receipts are under-estimated and the expenditure over-estimated. To substantiate the charge that the receipts are under-estimated reference is particularly made to the forecast made of the revenues anticipated from customs. On this point what I have to say is that it is only of late that the revenue under this head has reached a pretty big amount. Until some time back it was standing at a low figure, but suddenly it rose to a high figure. It is a fluctuating revenue and

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the Government cannot ordinarily make a true forecast of it. In the coming year especially there are difficulties and obstacles in the way of expecting any high amount on this account. The reason is well stated in the budget speech of the Finance Member and I do not think that I need reiterate them. In making the budget estimates the Government only took the precaution to see that the expenditure does not exceed the expected revenue. And to secure that end the revenue under this head was estimated at a modest figure. It was not done with any deliberate intention of under-estimating the income, but in the belief that it will not be proper under existing conditions to estimate it at any figure higher than 11 lakhs of rupees. Then on the charge of over-estimating expenditure. It is not made out by showing that many works which have been budgetted for have not been taken up and completed in the year and that the amounts sanctioned for those works have been allowed to lapse. The explanation to this has been given by the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi. He has explained very saisfactorily why some works could not be taken up in the year itself. If it is a road work after its alignment is fixed petitions are received for changing the alignment. If it is any other work petitions are received to change the selection of the site. Naturally it takes some time to enquire into and dispose of them. Generally it will not be proper to dismiss a petition off-hand, however frivolous may be, as it is only after enquiry is made it can be known whether the petition is frivolous or not Such enquiries take some time. And so also do the land acquisition proceedings which have to be taken since.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—Very long time.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—In some cases I do admit that delays occur due to inveitable causes. In this year I think I have passed 130 or 140 awards. Even a Judge spending all his time in the matter of disposal of cases will not be able to dispose of more than about a 100 original cases a year. And this year I have disposed of 130 or 140 land acquisition cases in the midst of my other duties.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—By this year you mean 1105?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—1105, up to this time. In taking land acquisition proceedings certain rules of law have to be followed. First of all a declaration has to be published and notices issued to the parties concerned and after that claim statement shave to be invited from them and enquired into. With all these things to do some appreciable time is necessary to complete every land acquisition proceeding even under ordinary

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circumstances. And when all the necessary preliminaries are gone through it is found in some cases that much precious time has been lost and that the remaining time is either insufficient or inopportune for the satisfactory execution of the works. In those cases the works are allowed to lie over and the cases of lapse pointed out are all cases of this kind. On the ground therefore that some works have not been executed and the amounts sanctioned for them are allowed to lapse it cannot be said that the expenditure has been underestimated. It is only in cases where the Government budget for a work without meaning to execute it within the year or knowing that it is not possible to complete it in the year that they can be legitimately charged with over-estimating. But when they honestly think that the work can be taken up and completed in the year there is no case of over-estimating at all. It has not been brought to the notice that there has been any such deliberate case of over-estimating expenditure.

The next criticism that has been made on the budget is that it has been framed with the eyes of a banker and not of a politician. Apparently it is based on the fact that the accumulated savings of the Government have more than doubled during these five years. Now, simply because there have been savings it cannot be said that the budgets of these years were not prepared in the light of a politician. If that was done at the expense of any of the departments which cater to the needs of the public then there may be some force in the charge. But it would be seen on reference to the comparative statement submitted by the Finance Member, that the expenditure in all the Departments which cater to the welfare of the public has risen gradually from 1101 up to 1105. In some case it has doubled. It may certainly be said that still more amounts can be spent on these Departments. That is not however the way to look at the thing. The point is whether any real necessities had been brought to the notice of the Government and whether the Government had not attended to them on the ground that there was no money available. I do not propose to go into the nature of the work that has been done by the several Departments namely, Public Works, Education, Agriculture and Panchayats, Medical and Sanitation, for I expect that the Heads of these Departments will give an account of what each has done for the benefit of the public.

On two points however I have to make a few remarks. First with regard to Industries and Agriculture. With regard to the Industries it is said that the Government has done little

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to encourage them. The charge is not so much that the Government has failed to start new industries but has not tried to revive the two industries that had already been started but had practically ceased to function. They are the Potteries and the Tanneries. With regard to the Potteries, efforts had been made and the fact will be testified to by the Hon'ble Member for Jews, to see whether it could be revived. An expert had been got down to inspect the works and see if anything can be done to improve them and what is understood is that it is not a practical problem.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On a point of information, we ask the Government whether they have any objection to place his report on the Table.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—The report was once placed on the Table.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—The report is one condemning the whole thing, and the Government will not be justified in trying to revive it.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Is there any outsider to take the work? Did the Government try?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Oh yes.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Then with regard to the Tanneries. The Government, it is said, could have undertaken the management and saved the situation. If I have understood the position correctly the Tanneries failed for two reasons. First of all it was paying very high remuneration to its employees and also to outsiders such as commission agents, etc. Secondly there was the difficulty of finding a market for the products turned out by it. From what I know efforts were made to secure foreign markets but there was little success in the attempt.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Is the Government prepared to give it on lease?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—I cannot give an answer off-hand. It does not appear to the Government that it is in the interests of the public to revive the industry.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—May we know the legal position of it, Sir.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—As Diwan Peishkar I am not entitled to give any legal opinion in the matter.

As regards new industries Government is certainly willing to start any new industry if it is seen to be a practical problem. But till now I do not think that any one has brought forward any useful suggestion about any industry.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Does Government think that no industry is practicable?

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Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Government can start industries only by way of demonstration and not as commercial concerns. It is for the people to carry them on as commercial concerns. Of course it rests with the Government to help the people in this direction in all possible ways. On this principle the Government did extend considerable help to the institution but the people failed to take advantage of that and allowed the concern to go to ruins.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Has the Government given up the Tanneries?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—Government will only be too glad to help if people are really earnest about it. But it must be regrettably said that there was no attempt made by the public in this direction whatever.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—No idea of starting Government industries.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—We cannot say that we have no idea. So far as the industries which may be started by the people are concerned, Government will only be too willing to extend all possible help to them.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—What I want to know is have you made any attempt to start any new industries except Tanneries and the Potteries?

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—I do not think that any new industry has been started. The budget proposals show that nothing has been done.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Are you sure of your information? Government had suggestions before them as to what can be done for the Tanneries. But they won't look at them.

Deputy President.—Government is only a share-holder like the others.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—When the Government becomes the owner, it will consider.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I think the Government have sued the Company for an amount of 2 lakhs of rupees which it owes the Government. The controlling share is with the Government.

Deputy President.—One-third of the shares belongs to the Government and two-thirds belongs to others and not the Government.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Government have only three members out of 8 on the Board.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am prepared to accept that statement. At that time there were only 7 members. I was also a Director

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of the same concern. There are other Tanneries in India going on successfully and we pointed out to the Government how others are going on well. Can you ever expect a carpenter to make a pair of shoes? He cannot be expected.

Mr. T. M. Krishna Menon.—As regards Agriculture everything that could possibly be done in the direction of providing irrigation facilities are being done by the Government. If you require amplifications, the Member for Public Works Department will give you instances. Some instances are given even in the Finance Member's opening speech and they may be supplemented by the Member for Engineering. Besides giving irrigation facilities Government have been giving loans for agricultural purposes on very liberal terms. Every year there is a fixed amount of 20,000 rupees allotted for this purpose. Over and above that a lakh of rupees was sanctioned last year for the same purpose and the interest charged was reduced to 3 per cent. It is mostly given to small land-holders so that they may take advantage of it and improve their condition. I do not know what more the Government can do in order to encourage Agriculture. Upon the other points raised the other Members will speak.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Sir, certain serious charges have been levelled against the Government during the two days of the general discussion, which to my mind, partake of the nature of some of those hardy annuals that persist in making their appearance in our gardens at this time of the year in spite of the best efforts of our gardeners.

Well, I have listened to these charges all these years ever since this House came into existence and we on this side of the House have been trying to answer these charges. But nevertheless as I said like those hardy annuals, I referred to, these charges persist in reappearing every Karkadagam month.

Well, there are certain possible explanations which suggest themselves to my mind. In the first place, perhaps the incessant down pour and the dismal and sullen sky that characterise this season of the year might impart a sympathetic sullenness and dismalness to the human mind.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It cuts both ways.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Oh, yes. But all the same there is that possibility.

Mr. E. Ekkanda Warriar.—The atmosphere is different.

Rao Sahib Mr C. Matthai.—I am speaking of the physical atmosphere. Well, another explanation is this. It may be due to the feeble way in which we on this side of the House present the case of the Government.

Or again it may be that members on the other side who reiterate these charges every year at this time of the year are de-

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termined not to be convinced, are determined to be blind to the facts that stare them in the face. I only suggest it as a possible explanation.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—We are too young to understand this. This side is too young. Not matured as you.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—As I said, I am only suggesting various possibilities. I shall just finish with one more explanation, and that is this. These persistent Members on the other side, they may be saying to themselves, " These bullocks or Government do doubt do pull hard and take us along, but do not say so to their face. That may spoil them and spoil our case. (*Laughter.*) We had better whip them still more mercilessly so that they might if possible, pull even more hard".

In other places I have heard of legislation against cruelty to animals. I am not quite sure whether there is such a legislation in this State. Well, if there is, I am afraid some of us go perilously near infringing that legislation in dealing with the poor animals on this side of the House. Sir, I do not want to weary the House.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It is very pleasant.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I will just refer to some of these persistent annual charges against this side of the House. One, with which we are all familiar, is that Government is paying no regard whatever to the demands of this House to the wishes repeatedly expressed in this House, that Government goes its own way as if no Legislative Council existed and as if the utterances that come from the other side of the House did not at all weigh with Government. I have repeatedly tried to meet that charge. I had on several occasions drawn out at wearsome length a list of resolutions passed by this House and of various suggestions made during the budget discussions, and showed how in all seriousness we had tried to carry out the expressed wishes of the other side of the House. I do not want to go over the same ground. I do not want to weary the patience of the Hon'ble Members.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—What about the separation of the Agriculture from the Panchayats?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I said I had a long list. a wearisome list.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—I shall answer when it comes to my turn.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I am only referring to those that I had repeated at wearisome length before this House—suggestions made by the other side of the House which were accepted and carried out by Government.

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Mr. A. B. Salem.—May we know in your Department what all suggestions have been carried over this year?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—You did not confine your remarks to one year alone. I cannot say that on the spur of the moment.

And then another serious charge is about the hoarding of revenue and the huge balances. Well, this is a thing on which opinions might differ. As the Member for Finance told us we have to recognise the differences in the condition of a small State like Cochin and that of a large Indian State or of British India. We are only in a small State which approximates to a household when compared with other big States. Supposing for instance we have large schemes on hand—great undertakings requiring large outlay of funds. A Government like the British Government or the Government of a Native State like Mysore or Hydrabad can raise loans at more reasonable rates of interest than we can with our limited resources. Therefore by the mere fact of hoarding, our Government would not stand condemned. But the Government would stand condemned if they blindly went on hoarding without a definite purpose; (*hear, hear*) like a miser who enjoys the mere sight of accumulated treasure.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—That is not the charge, Sir. We are only saying that you are accumulating without spending sufficiently to meet the requirements of the State.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Supposing you have a big and useful scheme, a thing that would be productive of good to the State. Supposing you have such things in view—would it not be justifiable to attempt a certain amount of saving for such purposes, in the special conditions of our State? In regard to a loan it will not be so easy for us to raise one in the open market. So that the justification would be in the nature of the scheme you have in view. For instance, we have been hearing of big undertakings that we have got to face like the broadening of the Railway and the development of the Harbour.

You are condemning this Government for what you call its policy of hoarding. Will you just go back some 20 or 25 years? May I ask Sir, how our Railway came into existence? No one now thinks that our Railway was a bad undertaking. I was an officer of the Government long before this Council came into existence and many of our Members were capable of expressing opinions. I know as a matter of fact that the railway was condemned in more unscathing terms than any of our later schemes. The railway that is now appreciated so generously and without any difference of opinion, was not ushered into existence in a pacific atmosphere. It was one of the most contested things at the time of Diwan Mr. Rajagopalachari.

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When the railway scheme was matured did Mr. Rajagopalachari finance it by a huge loan? He quietly made use of the 50 or 60 lakhs that his predecessors had accumulated.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.— There was a little loan of about 30 lakhs.

Mr. I. E. Ambooken.—What about Potteries and Tanneries?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Let me finish. About 50 or 60 lakhs of money which was lying in Government securities and elsewhere Mr. Rajagopalachari ruthlessly appropriated for the carrying out of the railway scheme. At that time we used to get only 2½ or 3 per cent from the investment whereas now we get 6 or 7 per cent. His idea then was not merely an adequate return for the investment, but the convenience of the public.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—What do you get now?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Between 6 and 7 per cent, I should think.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Even more sometimes.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—So it is not a bad investment. 50 or 60 lakhs of money were invested in Government securities carefully by Diwan Mr. Sankunni Menon and others. They did well and their successors did well. There is no difference of opinion on that. But what Mr. Rajagopalachari did was to spend what the others had hoarded. Supposing Mr. Rajagopalachari had attempted to raise the entire capital for the railway in the open market, it might not have been possible or he might have had to pay prohibitive interest.

Mr. M. A. Chakko.—90 lakhs were not necessary.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—What is the total cost of railway?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—About 60 lakhs from Government securities and 20 lakhs from the loan. So that when you raise the question of hoarding you have got to consider the motive of the Government. We have got huge schemes. We are waiting for the time when we shall have sufficient funds.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Our wants will not wait till that.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—We have certain purposes before us. For realising those purposes a certain amount of careful hoarding is necessary. Granted the first the second follows. That is No. 1. Then about the underestimating of income in the budget. The Diwan Peishkar has already explained that point and there is not much for me to say. If the underestimating of income were a deliberate process then

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I think the party responsible would be guilty. None of us are prophets. We have less pretensions to prophesy than members on the other side. Even the ablest budget is only an intelligent forecast, and as such when income is estimated there is the possibility of erring on the side of excess or on the other side. The question is when the Government has to place its budget before this House which would be the better course, to over-estimate or underestimate the income? No mathematical accuracy is possible and there is such a thing as erring on the safe side. Our Government have been following that policy. And they have been consistently erring on the safe side. That is all that the charge amounts to. I shall pass on to the others.

Mr. I. E. Ambooken.—Disbursements?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—As regards disbursements you see a slight increase almost every year.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—I shall state the charges. For instance in the Irrigation Department this year you have budgetted 1,25,000. Last year you budgetted the same amount but you spent only Rs. 50,000. What happened to the rest of the amount?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—That is an error in calculation.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—If that Rs. 60,000 was intended to be spent for irrigation work, why do you send that amount to the Bank rather than take it to next year.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Taking it to the next year would be wrong in principle.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—The point is you have been trying only to spend just a little. Probably you have been honestly trying. Your honesty won't save you from the position. You must see that the amounts that yon have not spent but already budgetted are added on to the next year's budget, rather than sead them to British Cochin.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Every year we are framing a new budget. We have to take all the demands of that year. You can give preferential treatment to the demands of the previous year, only after studying the requirements of the new year.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Suppose you want 10 miles of road. Last year you opened only 1 mile. You had budgetted for 10 miles. This year you budget for 10 miles. Last year's 9 miles remain unfulfilled. When you budget for the same 10 miles how much are you budgetting for this year? For 1 mile.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—We cannot agree to the mixing up last year's allotment with this year's. Every year

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we are facing the budget as a new thing. Certain emergencies may arise this year which may require more immediate attention than the sanctioned items of last year. The mere fact that it was in the budget of last year will not entitle it to be given preferential treatment.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Karuvannur scheme is in the first stage. We cannot provide for anything more than what we have provided. The Member referred to Irrigation.

Mr. C. Barton Wright.--It would require a much larger staff.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Certainly, appoint them.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—The Government were charged with cowardice and reluctance to face big schemes and undertakings of a productive nature. I would like to say that when we consider schemes and productive works it would be a dangerous policy to take a particular regime and judge the head of the administration merely by what he has achieved. So far as the Government is concerned there must be a continuity about it. If you adopt this principle of taking an individual Diwan and judging him by his achievements, by the schemes which he has originated and carried out, you would be setting a dangerous precedent.

Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar.—We don't do it. The Finance Member did it. We never did it.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—You went beyond him. (*Laughter*). I shall take you back to Mr. Rajagopalachari. At that time there were accumulated savings in the treasury. He need not have regulated his administration in the same way as another Diwan who had very little money in the treasury.

Mr. M. A. Chakko.—In the previous year also there was the same amount of money in the treasury.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—What I say is Mr. Rajagopalacharia's position and Mr. Pattabhirama Rao's position were entirely different and hence also their duties. Mr. Rajagopalachari depleted the treasury in executing useful projects. Mr. Pattabhirama Rao could not have done the same thing and you cannot condemn him on that ground.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Settlement.—

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I do not justify the successor. What I say is we have got to recognise these differences in the conditions of the one regime and of the other. After that came Diwan Banerji. He found the conditions different from those of his predecessor. He found plenty of money in the treasury and he started spending.

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Mr. A. B. Salem.—He had no money to spend.

Mr. M. A. Chakko.—He began to get money.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—He had much more money that Mr. Pattabhirama Rao. What I say is we should not set up a dangerous precedent. A Diwan should not say to himself "The Legislative Council expects me to carry out schemes of my own. I shall desperately set about to satisfy them". That would be a dangerous thing for the welfare of the country. You have to judge of a Diwan's regime in relation to what has gone before and what is to come after it. As I said before, if the accumulated savings of 90 lakhs are intended for definite and useful purposes there is nothing wrong in the hoarding. Then it was said that this regime was bereft of all schemes. Are there not schemes connected with my Department? Take the College that is going to be at Ramavarmapuram. I think we have launched a productive scheme which is going to promote the welfare of our State more than other ordinary schemes. It is an institution which is going to train the future citizens of our State. The return that you are going to get out of that is not in the shape of rupees, annas, and pies; but it will make the next generation better trained physically, better trained mentally and better equipped with social and moral qualities. We are going to have a big residential College. So that if there is really any productive scheme that the Cochin Government within recent times has launched, productive of the future good of the citizens of the State, I think I am quite justified in saying that it is the scheme of a residential institution of the kind we are going to establish at Ramavarmapuram. (*Hear, hear*). I have no doubt that when we quit this scene of our legislative activity and our sons take our place they would conduct themselves with more culture, with a much greater sense of propriety, and with a much better sense of values than we poor creatures have been doing all these years.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On the other side of the House, Sir.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I said 'we'. My children and your children. It illustrates the point I have been emphasising the danger of judging a Diwan by his own achievements. This scheme that I have just referred to was launched by the predecessor of the present Diwan who has brought it to the stage of execution. It was conceived by a previous Diwan, but was really executed by this successor.

Mr. M. K. Raman.—So the credit is not due to this Diwan. (*Laughter*).

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—He could have shelved the whole thing. That he did not do. He faced the legacy of his predecessor. The other side of the House has been saying

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that this Government is not a scheming Government at all, it has not got any big schemes to its credit.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Our complaint is that the Government is not a scheming Government.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—You said that the Government was bereft of imagination, bereft of any capacity for useful schemes, and so on.

Another big scheme that was initiated by a previous Diwan has reached a further stage during the present regime—I mean the Hydro-Electric Scheme that was launched by Mr. Bhore. So what I say is these things spread themselves out and are not confined to any one regime. Therefore if a little of extra thought is given to these things the State is no loser thereby.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—What about the allotment for Thanikkudam Scheme ?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Yes, there was an allotment for the Thanikkudam Scheme and we have got the results of the investigation of the scheme. We did not take it up because of the financial outlay. If we find that the Trichur Town and the College at Ramavarmapuram would require a larger supply of water, then, we shall be forced to take up the Thanikkudam Scheme. We have got all the necessary data. There are at present other sources of supply for the College and for the town. But when Trichur Town develops it would require a more liberal supply of water than it would be possible to get from the wells that now supply the town. And then we shall have to go back to the Thanikkudam Scheme. And the scheme is there to be taken up and executed.

Mr. V. V. Anantapadmanabha Ayyar.—Is the scheme still under investigation?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—The preliminary investigation is over. I am afraid the Members on the other side are weary.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—We are not weary. Take your own time.

Deputy President.—There are others to speak.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I find I have not touched my Department. We had certain criticisms on the educational activities of the State. Some of the Members on the other side said that if all we did in the way of education were put a stop to the country would be the better for it—that the kind of education that we are imparting did no good whatever.

Deputy President.—Who said ?

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—I heard it so said. That it only tended to create unemployment—it was purely literary in

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character, that it turned out graduates, but nothing was done to enable people to earn their livelihood, and so on. I think the Member who gave expression to that view did not take into account certain things that we are trying to do, we are in our humble way training our young people for useful occupations. Apart from that, it has got to be remembered that to bring about the economic development of the country the first thing necessary is the spread of elementary education. All the British Indian Reports such as of the Agricultural Commission and the Economic Committee if they emphasise one thing it is this. You cannot have the economic development of the country unless you give elementary education to the people who live in our villages. And this education has got to be mainly literary. Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, the three R's, and the elements of general knowledge are absolutely necessary. You talk of village poverty and so on. What is it that has got to be done to remove village poverty? You talk of promoting co-operation. Can you imagine co-operation without literacy? The success of the co-operative movement is dependant on mass literacy. And the Co-operative Registrar will tell you that at present the co-operative activities of the State are backed by the teachers. You accuse teachers as being un-practical and so on. Ask the Co-operative Registrar and he will tell you that wherever successful co-operative work is being done in the villages, the President or the Secretary or the Committee Members are teachers of the locality.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—We never accuse the teachers, but the poor pay you give them.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—We are trying in this way to supplement their income. Whenever a teacher applies for taking part in these activities I readily give sanction, and a successful co-operative society does not grudge to remunerate the teacher for his labours. We have got the Economic Development Committee. A little money is placed at our disposal by Government. Do you know what we do with it? Where we find good work is done by way of co-operation, of industrial development, of improved methods of agriculture, where we are satisfied that good work is being done, we distribute the money among those who are responsible for such work. To a village teacher who gets only Rs. 15 or Rs. 17 a month it is a substantial help to receive a bonus of Rs. 30 or 40 a year. In that way it not only helps to extend the sphere of usefulnesss of the poor teacher; it also improves the condition of the village, so that both stand benefited by it. Do not be carried away by

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these sweeping condemnations, that all our education is literary, it is all waste of money and the country would be the better if all these were put a stop to.

Then about the training for vocations. I shall just refer to a recent testimony. I hope I shall not be accused of blowing the trumpet of the Government. There are two educational officers from Hyderabad who have been in our State for some days. They have been touring in South India studying educational problems with a view to revising their system in Hyderabad. They have visited Mysore and Travancore. They were telling me that in the way of vocational education there was much more done in this State than in any of the States they have visited so far. My friend the Member for Muslims was with me at the time. It was an unsolicited testimony. All that I would claim is we are not behind our neighbours. We have not reached perfection. We are conscious of our shortcomings. But we have made a real beginning. We have begun to change the outlook of our young people. We are creating a bias in favour of useful manual occupations so that when these little people come out of their schools they will have a different outlook from what you and I had. In the matter of co-operation, for instance, you might have heard that we have introduced co-operation as a subject of instruction in our High Schools. We took more than 40 of our economics graduates and gave them some special training. We have appointed such teachers in every High School for boys as well as for girls for the practical teaching of the principles of co-operation. All our boys and girls in High Schools will in future undergo a practical course in Co-operation. They are already running their own Co-operative Stores and co-operative societies under the guidance of these teachers. These teachers not only teach in schools, but are expected to exercise a sort of supervision over the co-operative activities of their locality. One after another useful industries are being introduced. Handicrafts are taught in elementary schools, Agriculture in rural High Schools. Little by little we are trying to create a change of atmosphere—a change in the mentality of our young people. For results we have to wait with some patience. We cannot uproot our plant every year to satisfy ourselves that it is growing. Let the plant grow—only tend it.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Pruning is necessary.

Rao Sahib Mr. C. Matthai.—Yes, pruning of our language as well.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—After the pleasant and humorous spirit which the Member for Education has succeeded in putting the House into, I confess to a slight feeling of

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embarassment in leading the House into a more serious vein of thought. I have, on this occasion, the enviable pleasure to rise, not to answer to a load of ill-formed criticisms against myself and my Department, which it was my lot to do in the past, but just to offer a few remarks on the observations made from the opposite side. I confess that those remarks would be very general indeed, because I look in vain for any serious constructive criticisms brought up for consideration which are condusive to public or administrative utility. On the other hand,the Member who led the discussion was able to present only at issue of vitriolic generalisation against Government. That Member, with apparent amaurosis, could see no trace of any good in the various activities in which the Government was engaged in spending Rs. 88 lakhs in the year under review. His deliberate sweeping statements are that 'nothing has been done for the benefit of the country'—'nothing for ameliorating the condition of the people', a more scathing indictment could not be uttered against even the most reprobate Government in the 20th century. How far this is justifiable or is a mere wanton criticism, facts which will be set forth by the Members on the Government side will abundantly disclose. Amidst his general condemnation, he has mildly dragged in the Medical Department in his statement, if I remember right,that the reputation of the Medical Department has not increased. I cannot imagine how any man could have the effrontery to say so in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, which he who runs may road. The total number of patients treated in our institutions rose, from the time this Legislative Council came into being, from 3,40,860 to 5,88,088 and in-patients from 8,087 to 12,593.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Everybody is a patient in the State.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—The number of operations performed in all our institutions rose from 12,538 to 27,420.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—The disease has been increasing.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—The number of institutions giving medical relief rose from 28 to 44. The General Hospital has been enlarged, accommodation increased, nursing arrangements improved and strengthened from 4 European Sisters and 2 Indian nurses to 6 Sisters and 19 nurses.

The X-Ray installation, which, at its inception, was regarded as a luxury by some Members of the Council, is freely resorted to by the people who seem to have appreciated the use of it more than the former, and has brought in a revenue of Rs. 1,441 last year and has already brought in Rs. 2,310 during this year. The pay wards of the General Hospital which was inaugurated in the teeth of opposition of some of the Members

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of this Council is highly appreciated by the well-to-do classes, and since it was opened for use 4 months ago has produced an income of Rs. 1,093, which gives more than 5% interest on invested capital in a spending department. Leaving aside the encomiums paid by visitors of distinction and authority in the past, the Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, who visited the General Hospital only 2 days before the Jenmi Member's remark, under discussion, has recorded, amongst other appreciative expressions, that the fact of the Hospital is full to overflowing is ample testimony to its efficiency and value. In the face of these unassailable facts and eminent testimony, where will the covert insinuation stand, that the Medical Department is stagnant? This enlightened House may judge for itself. One other sneering remark, not altogether unconnected with my own functions, which proceeded from the same author, cannot, I consider, be passed un-noticed—about hollow schemes of water supply. Nemmara, which, from time immemorial, has suffered from the insufferable scarcity of good drinking water, has been supplied with a brilliantly conceived and successfully achieved scheme of water supply. Aylore, a village not distant from Nemmara, which has silently suffered from water scarcity especially during seasons of drought, has been equally successfully supplied with a scheme of pipe water supply which is nearing completion, the much appreciated water supply arrangements to Mattancheri—for all of which the people of those respective places are deeply grateful. The partial water supply to the central upland parts of Trichur from the street hydrants of which hundreds of people are so easily drawing their supply of water, which the Member is daily witnessing and which was one of the 70th Birthday boons of His Highness the Maharaja, only a misanthropic spirit could characterise those beneficent schemes of water supply! What is the hollow about them, Sir, except the pipes?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—How can it be only hallow pipes?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—All pipes are hollow.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—How can it be hollow when there is water inside?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—These two are the types of accusations against Government administration, and the rest, which are of a piece with these, may be allowed to rest unmolested in the archives of this Council as a monument of the complete absence of that fine grace and courtesy for which his constituents are traditionally famous.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On a point of order, I could not follow the last sentence.

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Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—And the rest which are of a piece with these may be allowed to rest unmolested in the archives of this Council as a monument of the complete absence of that fine grace and courtesy for which his constituents are traditionally famous.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I rise to a point of order.Can you use such abusive terms against the Jenmi Community as a whole ?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—It is a compliment.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—You are complimenting them ? Then it is a much greater sin.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Before passing on to deal with one or two topics of interest referred to in the course of the discussion, allow me just to touch lightly on the thunderings of the Hon'ble Member of Trichur. Sir, that Hon'ble Member holds strong views on most subjects and particularly on the subject of his own infallibility.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I am suffering from unsanity.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—It is not a wonder then that a person so imbued with a sense of his own infallibility and omniscience should be making wild, fantastic statements in which, I consider, it would be folly to controvert. What could be said to a wild statement that a sum of Rs. 50,000 for four beds is spent for the benefit of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I stick to it, and I could prove it.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Could a more fantastic statement be uttered by a Member claiming to contribute to the serious discussion of this Council ?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Oh, Yes.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—He spoke of proving that the statements contained in the budget speech were all untrue. But the proof consisted only in the loud, stentorian voice which proceeded from that corner.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Point of order. Is personal attack allowed ?

Deputy President.—He was making such remarks.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Is he not a sycophant? Here is a man who accuses everybody and pretends that he is sincere. your impudence. Do you think that it is not impertinence? I say you are more than that. Go on, file a suit against me. Because he is an old man, he thinks he can indulge in such expressions. You must ask him to restrain his expressions.

Deputy President.—You must sit down, when I order.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—My point of order is whether any Member can indulge in personal reflections?

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Deputy President.—On which side ?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—On both sides.

Deputy President.—Both sides are wrong.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—I will retaliate. I will return, with all your boasted impudence.

Deputy President.—Is that proper ? You must keep quiet. You must be a little more patient.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—When he said insane, I was absent. He thinks that he can use such expressions.

Deputy President.—In my view both are wrong. If you withdraw your remark, he will also withdraw.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Is it not indulging in the vagaries of imagination to say that the increase of expenditure shown in the budget for the State was all due to the creation of unnecessary posts to favour relations, camp-followers and sons? Veiled under the fanciful assertion I do not know whether he referred to the appointments recently made in the Medical Department. If so, let me quote the remarks of the Political Agent in answer to it, made only two days ago. "From what I saw I should say that both accommodation and staff are now inadequate to meet the demands made upon it and them, and I hope, therefore, the Durbar will give this matter their early attention". This is the opinion of a dispassionate gentleman of note and distinction and not of one chagrined by seeing his pet hobbies shattered. Again his remark that the non-fruition of the establishment of an Ayurvedic Hospital is due to want of sympathy of the Medical Department is a further instance of his fertile imagination.

There are only two important points regarding which explanation is worth undertaking. One the alleged want of attention to the epidemic of small-pox which prevailed in the State and the out-break in Irinjalakkuda, a graphic description of which was attempted by the Honble Member who hails from Irinjalakkuda.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—The Member for Irinjalakkuda never spoke about this.

Deputy President.—He did not say that.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—I said because he is a who Member belongs to Irinjalakkuda. That is all.

The answer that I shall give regarding the State generally will be applicable to the latter as well. Sir, the first thing which the Government does when an outbreak of epidemic of small-pox occurs in rural parts is to adopt preventive measures against its spread and limit its progress. The treatment of patients affected depends entirely on the will and consent of the persons or their relatives. Government cannot impose their

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treatment on the people. It is well known that people are averse to English treatment for small-pox, so much so, that Ernakulam Municipality employed an Ayurvedic Vydian in the contagious shed here in spite of a special Medical Officer detailed for its charge. If there is a demand, there should have been indeed a supply. As for Irinjalakkuda, there is an isolated contagious shed attached to the Hospital, and indigent and vagrant small-pox cases used to be admitted in that place. There is no law in the land for coercive segregation. Any one who wanted attendance and treatment should have been gladly admitted there. Perhaps, the Member is not aware of it. He has evidently only been primed to come and speak in the Council. Now, Sir, as I said before, the primary duty of Government is to devise preventive measures against the spread of small-pox.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Why did you not do it?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Vaccination is the only effective prophylactic against it, and this the Government has attempted to do to an ample degree, and the only reason that it has not been strikingly successful to withstand the onslaught of this epidemic is the opposition of the people to undergo vaccination.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Why not make vaccination compulsory?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Had the Sanitary subordinate received on the spot the support of the educated local patriotism, we should have been able to protect the populationof the unaffected parts. On the other hand obdurate opposition was arrayed against the Sanitary Inspectors and Vaccinators, and they could do no more than was possible by their unaided powers of persuasion to achieve. Here, as elsewhere, for want of compulsory laws of vaccination, the vaccinators had to overcome opposition not only from ignorance and superstition of the masses but opposition from a class composed of persons who were educated and of social position. This was eminently so in Irinjalakkuda. In Irinjalakkuda before the Hindu quarters became invaded extra lymph for 5,000 cases were got down, and 3 Vaccinators were concentrated in that town as early as last Madam, and only 2,000 cases were obtained. In normal years, the total vaccination during the year is, for the State 32,000 and Municipalities 3,000 and this year lymph sufficient to vaccinate 79,000 cases were distributed in rural areas-up-to-date, and 15,100 cases in Municipalities during the first half of the year. This has only touched the fringe of the unprotected population, and unless vaccination is made compulsory in the State, as it is done in Malabar since many years, the periodcial ravages of small-pox will continue.

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Government has spent on vaccination Rs. 11,167—6—3 in this year till the end of Mithunam as against Rs. 1,575 in 1104, i. e., last year.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Why don't the Government make vaccination compulsory ?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—Yes. We shall do it. It is not an easy thing.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—By proclamation you can do it easily.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese —The second point is the vehement recommendation for the formation of a proper Sanitary Department. I am entirely in agreement on this point. (*Hear, hear*). I endeavoured to enlist sympathy of this House in my desire to organise a Sanitary Department early in the career of this Legislative Council. But I met with cold response. While Mysore and Travancore are revising and strengthening their Health Department and fast progressing with elaborate scheme of sanitary reforms, it has taken the relentless march of a severe epidemic throughout the length and breadth of the land to rouse the learned representatives of the people to bring about the dawn of an age of sanitation in the State. As a result of a discussion on the subject in the last session of the Council, Government has directed me to prepare a scheme of sanitary organisation. I have now a completely drawn up scheme on hand for immediate submission, and I do hope that it will meet with the early attention which the subject deserves. (*Hear, hear*). I have to finally thank the Member for Palayannur for the definite needs of his constituency which he placed before the House. I may add that, on my part, I shall endeavour to give due attention to those relating to my Department.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—Sir, I have listened with great attention to the various criticisms levelled against the Government during this Budget Session and cannot refrain from observing that, while there were many useful suggestions and fair criticisms for better administration, I had to entertain the impression that some of them were unfortunately based on unfounded reports.

The most important of the criticisms made about the Public Works Department centred round the question of what are generally called as lapses of appropriations for the year. I shall presently endeavour to show you how it is erroneous to consider these lapses as representing the measure of the quantity of works left undone. I shall also state how circumstances which develop during execution militate against the even and steady progress of the works.

Let me refer first to the item of building new roads. There are several definite stages which have to be gone through before

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a road is constructed and opened for traffic. A petition from the people to the Government can generally be called the first stage. The second stage consists of a preliminary investigation and suggestion to the Government with modifications in alignment, if necessary, with a rough cost report. If the Government approves of the alignment, it is included in the budget. The survey and estimating is the third stage, and if it is allowed to go on uninterrupted, we would in all cases come out in the long end. The next stage is one for monster petitions. The reasons for them are generally of a personal nature, to avoid acquisition of any of the lands or to get the road depart from an alignment most satisfactory to the greatest number of people for the benefit of a few. These pretensions are, of course, camouflaged in a manner which is sometimes very clever, and possibly will entail surveys of different alignments before any finality could be reached. Survey and estimating with the necessary land plan and schedules will at least take four to five months ordinarily and more if disputes arise. The next stage will be the sanction of the estimate and orders for land acquisition. There is now a check on progress, as it is necessary to wait for starting work till lands are acquired and handed over. My friend the Revenue Member may inform you how difficult and protracting the procedure is in regard to valuation of the sites, improvements, etc., and the time it takes for them to reach a stage when the awards can be paid.

Once lands are given in our possession, any further delay for executions rests entirely with my Department.

Still many are the road works which we have started by persuading land-holders to permit us to work in their lands before final acquisition is made so as to avoid delay. I shall give a few examples. The Mala to Adoor road work was started in the year 1104 before acquisitions were over, and the constructing of about 5 miles of road with 2 big bridges and many cultivated embankments costing in all over Rs. 40,000 can be said to be well nigh completed.

Similar is the case with the road to Areepalam landing. That work costing about Rs. 17,000 and taken up last year has now been completed. The first stage of the Edakulam road taken up in 1104 and costing about Rs. 16,600 has now been completed when I inspected it last except for spreading metal which, I hope, would have been over by this time.

The Chelakara-Elnad road has come in for some discussion in this Council. The Member for Palayannur has touched on the necessity for opening the Palayannur-Elnad road. This will give you an indication of the vigorous protests that were launched for the selection of the Chelakkara-Elnad alignment.

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Both the routes had to be surveyed, their economic aspects considered, before the final choice had to be made. We have now started on the work and have made very good progress during the past 3 months, and the earth work for 2 miles has almost been completed. Even now the payments for lands have not been made, though with the kind co-operation of the Revenue authorities, however, we have been able to start the work. The time of completion cannot be longer than a few months, and we are ready with the complete survey for the 2nd stage of the road.

Works for over 11 miles of the Nelliampathy Ghat Road have been almost completed in less than 16 months, which, you will agree, is a record for road building, considering the malarial and rocky nature of the forests to be traversed.

When circumstances beyond our control check the progress of one work, we invariably try to push on another budgetted work situated under better conditions and try as far as possible to balance the progress of works in general.

It will be seen, therefore, that, if any of the Members have been persuaded to believe that there is delay in the execution of Public Works, they are influenced by erroneous impressions.

Further the difference between the accounts of a certain year and the budget of the same year does not represent the amount of works left undone. Because there will be noticeable savings in works due to cheaper designs, tendered deductions, etc. These form an appreciable item, and a good portion of what are called 'Lapses' are really 'Savings'.

It has to be regretted that it was not possible to make much headway in regard to irrigation original which were budgetted for this year. The Konath river bund works estimated at about Rs. 18,000 are being delayed pending approval from the Travancore Government.

Another important work which had to be postponed was the construction of a canal from Muriyad to Kakkatturuthy. The estimates, land plan and schedules were all ready for this work, but, you may remember the serious discussions which were carried on in this Council for the postponement of this work this year pending the completion of the Karuvannur flood relief works. It was in deference to the opinion of the Members of this Council that this work was postponed. The Karuvannur flood prevention works have been baffling the Government for the past 20 years, but we are now in a happy position to put forward a complete scheme in a manner which is ready for immediate execution.

It will be seen, therefore, that the blame of not having completed the above irrigation works should not be wholly at

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or doors. They are caused either by circumstances on which we have no hold or as per the desires of the Members of this Council. As the Member for Adoor had rightly suggested, such inconveniences will not be caused, if it is made a point to include only items in the budget for which estimates, etc., have been already prepared. That will be the ideal condition, and we are striving towards it.

This years's budget, you will notice, contains a comparatively small portion of non-estimated works. And for many of these works we have by this time prepared estimates.

The scheme for communications for the coming year is a well balanced one and of a vigorous nature. The constructing of the Chengal thodu bridge which will link the isolated tract of Chowwara with the main land was a long-felt want. Again it was the persistent efforts of the Member for Chittur which brought about the provision for the bridge across the Varattai river. The new road from Kunnamkulam to Pazhanji for which estimates have already been prepared was another long-standing want.

I shall not chronicle all the items of the budget at this time, but I want to say that there has been no preventible delay in the execution and completion of works in the P. W. D. There may be stray instances here and there which, of course, cannot be helped.

The demands made on the condition of the surface of the road by motorists have of late become so severe that we have been paying very great attention for some time. I am sure you will find, as a result, that roads have considerably improved.

Maintenance of irrigation works has been very satisfactory this year, and the crops under Chittur irrigation systems, in particular, were a success.

The Kole cultivation this year was also a success in general, but a small area suffered from partial drought. Late cultivation invariably was the cause in such cases and could have been avoided.

With the widening of the Enamakkal dam, Kuttadan Crops are being cultivated to a larger extent, and this, if steadily carried on, will go a great way in solving the Kole problem.

It is my intention to complete the survey for the Chalakudi river diversion scheme next year and to try to complete the negotiations with the Travancore Government for the diversion of waters from the river.

The Hydro-Electric Surveys are being vigorously pushed on and will be completed by the end of Chingam so far as they relate to the channel survey and the pipe line. The Tramway

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feeder line from Karaparakutty to Poringalkuttu has been completed. If all goes well, I do not see any misgivings to get Hydro-power in Ernakulam within the next 3 years or possibly earlier.

We are doing well regarding Potteries. The few items we can make in the factory are well made, and I do not see any reason why Members should be so despondent about it.

The water works for Aiylur and Nemmara have made very good progress, and are practically complete. A deep well of 300 feet in rock has been sunk for Trichur water works, and its yield has to be tested during this dry season. We are given reasonable hopes as to predict the success of the well.

Extensions for Mattancheri water works have also been completed, but the problem cannot be fully solved unless a submerged pipe line could be laid across the back water. We were delaying this matter pending the construction of the railway bridge between Ernakulam and Venduruthy, but since the project is destined to be delayed further, I think the pipe line question should be taken up without any further delay. After this is installed, it will be an easy matter to satisfy my friend, the Member for Palluruthy, who is taking great pains in representing the grievances of the people in Chellanam in regard to water supply.

Maintenance of Municipal town roads has become a thorn on our side. With the best of intentions Government took up this work so that the Municipalities may divert their insufficient revenues to other items of necessary expenditure. This has been misconstrued, and we come out as the target of attack on all directions, I may say, even both personally and in the capacity of a Government Officer. Well, it is my intention to start tar-macadamising portions in Trichur Town to allay the dust nuisance which is doing untold damages to the people.

We have this year, Sir, it may be seen, therefore, done solid work on all items generally covered by a Public Works Department, and with the kind help and support of the Members of this Council I hope to interpret the budget of next year in a manner which will prove eminently satisfactory.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—What about the separation of the Departments of Agriculture and Panchayats?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Sir, since the several items of criticism that have come in during the general discussion, would crop up again to-morrow, on the moving of the allotment of General Administration, I do not think that I should this evening and at this stage, go into the details of these charges

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such as "the delay in the Tenancy Bill", "not sufficient Ezhuva hands in the Huzur", etc. I would rather contend myself with a few remarks on general observations made in the last two days. First and foremost what has struck me as the most serious charge is the charge of want of efficiency on the part of the Government. I should think that that is the most central charge and that if I meet that I would be going at least more than one-third the way to meet the whole of the other charges. Well, Sir, which is the situation and which is the time to test the efficiency of any administration? I would say critical times when there is a serious epidemic, when there is a ravage of floods, when there are great responsibilities devolving upon the shoulders of the officers during the time of visits of great and distinguished visitors. I would ask the House: on which of these occasions have the Government failed?

Mr. M. K. Raman.—It is a matter of opinion.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Well, it is a matter of opinion, and I am now trying to prove that that opinion which decides that there is a want of efficiency, is wrong. The Members of this very House gave their testimonies to the work of the officers and to the work of the Government during the floods in last year and during the epidemics of this year. Would anyone of this House say that the Government left one stone unturnrd to alleviate the trouble. In this connection, I should thank the Member for Chalakkudi who had the courtesy to come to me, in the absence of the Diwan from the head quarters, to find out what the Government have done in the matter of small-pox scare. I know that but for his efforts, the way in which that public meeting would have ended would have been once more to create bad impressions against the Government. I thank him, Sir, for that most sincerely. Now, Sir, once the facts were ascertained the cloud over the administration for want of timely activity in connection with the epidemics vanished. Well then, Sir, what about the visit? Did it not go successful? Did we fail one inch and are not these the occasions to test the efficiency of the administration? And again to come to the routine of business of the administration, I would request the Hon'ble Members to point out one instance in which we have left things either undone or half done.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—You were not giving us water in time in Chittur.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Do you expect us to give those points now?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—If you like. Then I can meet them straight-away now.

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Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—It need not be said that I did not give those points. I think that the proper place should be to-morrow.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—If you could give them to-day and at once, I could come ready prepared to-morrow. Well, Sir, as regards the charge of want of efficiency, I would only say so much at the present stage. Then, Sir, coming to the next item "lapses". Here I would simply contend myself withdrawing the attention of the House to an observation made by the Finance Member of the Madras Government in March or April. In connection with his own Presidency he says that the Heads of Departments are asking for much more than they want. Well, Sir, that is a charge which is common with all Governments. You can't but allow certain lapses. It is an inevitable item in the matter of any administration. It is not a matter peculiar to the Cochin Government.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Eighty per cent lapses there was in the Panchayat.

Mr. I. Raman Menon.—No Sir. It is a mistake.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—It is a mistake, our Member for Agriculture says. Well, Sir, come again to the third item, the relations with the Council. During the last budget session the Hon'ble Members on the other side stressed three or four points in this connection. One of them was that no Member of this House is kept conversant with the details of the harbour matters. And to satisfy the House on this point did we not put a Member of this Council on the Port Conservancy Board? Is it flouting the House? Again, Sir coming to the question of transfers which was another point and an oft-mentioned one too the Diwan has issued a Circular to all Heads of Departments that transfers of large amounts should never be done behind the back of the Council. Is this also not respecting the wishes of the Council? Coming again, Sir, to the 3rd point raised last year which was about the long delay in passing orders on the resolutions, I would ask, how many resolutions now remain without orders being passed? Three.

Mr. K. Mohamed Seethi.—On a point of explanation I would just say that in the Port Conservancy Meeting the general policy of the Harbour is never brought out.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Well, what else could be done? That was the point on which the Members felt very keen last time. They said " you have so many European merchants on the board, so many Indian merchants on the board. Why not you put a Member of this House "?

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Why not issue Press Communiques?

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Rama Varmha Tampuran.—It is not the practice anywhere to issue Press Communiques on such topics. You wanted to have a man on the board pointing out that the Cochin Chamber of Commerce had several members on the board. If the Members will refer to the past proceedings you will be convinced of it. Then again, coming to the resolutions, I say, only 3 resolutions remain without orders being passed, all the rest having been passed. Lastly as regards answering questions. The Members themselves will be convinced that a large number of questions have been answered in each of the meetings. So much, Sir, as to the relations between the Government and the Council. Another point touched by a few Members of this Council was about the orders passed on the report of the Special Finance Committee. The charge here was that we have been mercilessly hard towards some of the officers. When we have to deal with a staff of 6,000 what else could we do? And further such hard cases are being considered. As a matter of fact, a list is being prepared in the Huzur. Next, Sir, the question of the separation of the Panchayat from Agriculture. There, too, Sir, the Government has bestowed the keenest attention on the topic. Of course, there is some force in the remark that the Superintendent of Agriculture is, as it is, an officer rather too busy.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Overworked.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—But you should also see the other side of the question. What else can we do, but to entrust it to a responsible, almost a first class officer, to see that these Panchayats are properly worked without any irregularity. You can't have it done except through a senior officer of the State. At the same time if we put one person exclusively for that work and for that work alone, he won't have enough work. Comparing the work of the Superintendent of Agriculture with that of the Director of Public Instruction or that of the Chief Engineer, can you mean that the Superintendent of Agriculture is too much worked? The difficulty was that he was undermanned. He had not enough Inspectors. And we do hope that once he is given the necessary staff to help him, there will not be any room for any complaint in the matter. If there is still complaint, we shall go into it again.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—The Inspector in Chittur?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We have already appointed 3 Inspectors for the whole State. Next, Sir, as regards the charge referring to the appointment in the judiciary. I do not understand why it should be said that a particular community is being favoured, simply because there are two Judges of one community. Have there not been such occasions before

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and even in short memory? Did anybody accuse Government of communalism on those occasions? Why should the charge be brought down on the floor of this House on this particular occasion, I do not understand. And is it not significant, Sir, that the arrangement is still continuing acting? In the face of all those facts, why should that accusation be brought down on the floor of this House that the Government is showing undue favours to one community? There is absolutely no ground for fear on that point.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—But did not Government accept the principle of representation of all the different sections of the political community in all Departments?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Yes, we have accepted it. But won't there be occasions in which exceptions should be taken? Within the memory of two or three years, were there not such occasions? Well, Sir, I think I have exhausted all the points and all the criticisms that have been levelled against the Government and if the Members would think it over calmly it should be clear to them that there is little or nothing to substantiate all the above charges. Still we are not superhuman and therefore we take it——we take it in the humble spirit of inducing us to work with greater activity and with the motto of giving still greater satisfaction to the House.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—They are meant only as such.

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Sir, most of the criticisms have been general, and my collagues have met the points raised in a general way. I shall, however, deal with a common criticism that has been levelled at the under-estimating of receipts and the over-estimating of expenditure. I may assure the House that it is not done wilfully to hoodwink the House or the public, but these figures are prepared with all possible caution more than 1½ years back on the basis of the materials then before the Government. As long back as Karkadagam 1103 I touched on this point in my speech introducing the budget estimates of 1104 in the following words.

"The presentation of budgets has been described somewhere as a juggling trade—of course a jugglery in figures—and I shall not be surprised if some of my friends on the non-official side charge me as presenting deceptive budgets in that the actuals have thus shown a far greater surplus than the anticipations. To such of my friends, I may state that budgets are mere anticipations and revised estimates are a more accurate approximation, and would, therefore, invite a reference to the portion reviewing the revised estimates."

The reasons for the variations have been given each year, and all that I can state on behalf of the Government is that they prepared these estimates to the best of their knowledge.

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I may further add that such variations are not a unique feature of this State alone. To take but one instance at random while Travancore budgetted for a revenue of Rs. 2,11,58,100 in 1102 the actuals came to Rs. 2,32,52,329—a difference of more than 20 lakhs. Again in 1103 they budgetted for a revenue of Rs. 2,23,21,000 while the actuals came to Rs. 2,42,29,100 or a difference of 19 lakhs. In 1104 also a similar difference of Rs. 12 lakhs is noticeable.

Mr. I. Raman Menon.—With reference to the Hon'ble Member's statement, I would invite the attention of the Hon'ble Member to page 23 of the Budget. The accounts of 1104 show that a lakh and 47 thousand rupees has been spent out of the allotment for 1104.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—1104, i. e., last year.

Mr. I. Raman Menon.—Yes, 1104.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—What was the budget figure? A lakh and 80 thousand.

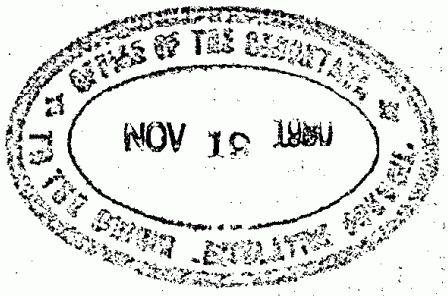
Mr. I. Raman Menon.—No. That is a wrong figure.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—If my figures are wrong, I will withdraw.

Deputy President.—We shall rise now.

The House rose for the day at 3' to 5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Secretary to the Council.



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